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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 130



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LUSAKA CONFERENCE CRITICIZES USSR, SRV

OW060121 Beijing XINHUA in English 0102 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] Lusaka, October 5 (XINHUA)--The Soviet aggression against Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea were condemned at the 26th Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) which ended here yesterday, according to a press release.

The conference, officially opened by Zambian President Kaunda on September 27, was attended by 148 speakers or parliamentarians from 44 countries and regions. "Current threats to international peace and security" and other subjects were debated at the conference.

Speaking as the Southeast Asia regional representative, Lau Teik Soon, MP of Singapore, said "In both cases (Afghanistan and Kampuchea) the aggressors invaded a country, installed a puppet regime and established a large military presence to consolidate its occupation of the country."

"All governments who believe in peace should continue to oppose the new imperialism of the Soviet Union and Vietnam and refuse to recognise the puppet regimes of Karmal and Heng," he stressed.

He pointed out that to seek just and peaceful solutions to the Afghan and Kampuchean problems, "the withdrawal of aggressors" and "the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Afghans and Kampuchians" must be effected.

Malaysian MP Liong Sik Ling said Afghanistan and Kampuchea were "clear examples of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of another." Noting that Malaysia recognised the government of Democratic Kampuchea, he said to do otherwise "would be supporting a regime sustained by a massive foreign military presence." "There is no stability and no popularity of the puppet regime of Heng Samrin," he stressed.

C.S. Chan, MP of Singapore, said Singapore as a small country having an abiding interest in the maintenance of world peace, would not remain mute in face of open Soviet and Vietnamese aggression against small nations.

Australian MP and leader of the Australian delegation J. Corbett said that the strong worldwide condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was supported by the fact that so many Afghans were "making tremendous efforts against overwhelming odds for so long to resist this invasion."

M. Mtine of Zambia said, "We are threatened by the tension and arms race between the two superpowers who claim to be the world policemen." "Lacking reliable allies in the wealthy Gulf area, the Soviet Union suggested to invade Afghanistan," he noted.

Delegates also condemned the South African racist regime for the recent killings of innocent demonstrators and the wanton raids on Zambia and Angola as well as the creation of Bantustans.

Other subjects discussed at the conference included transference of technology from the developed to the developing countries, control of drug trade and race relations in Commonwealth countries.

The next conference will be held in Fiji in 1981, it was decided.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH OFFICIAL URGES MINERS TO CEASE STRIKE ACTION

OW040751 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 3 (XINHUA)--Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, called on the coal miners to understand the country's difficulties and not stage any more strikes, because such action, "would aggravate the situation."

He issued the call yesterday during a meeting with coal miners from Katowice, after stating that coal output was four million tons below the target and that it might be 8-10 million tons below by the end of the year.

Over the past few years, the country's pace of industrial development has been markedly on the down grade, and coal mining was the only sector which was able to fulfil its planned targets. The strikes in August seriously affected Poland's biggest national economic sector.

Premier Pinkowski described the domestic political and economic situation as extremely serious and difficult. He claimed that the root cause of this situation was not in the system itself, but in its distortion, and said there were some dishonest persons in the country and the government "put forward unsuccessful ideas and made mistakes." For example, failure to pay enough attention to agricultural development, borrowing too much money from foreign countries, overextended capital construction projects, improper investment structure, ignoring the need to strike an overall balance in planning and so forth.

He said that "the government, the economic leadership at central level, and those who had the final say on the development policies and financial aspect" should bear responsibility for those mistakes.

The premier said that the government was now basing its efforts on three issues: to guarantee the materialization of the agreements reached with the strikers; to grasp production and put the economy back to normal; and to formulate a long-term program for the country's development.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH WORKERS STAGE WARNING STRIKE

OWO40123 Beijing XINHUA in English 0104 CMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] Warsaw, October 3 (XINHUA)--Polish workers today held a one-hour nationwide warning strike from 12:00 to 13:00 (Warsaw time) demanding that the government fulfill the agreement reached with the workers on schedule.

In Gdansk, a strike announcement at the headquarters of the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union said the workers want the government to fulfill as scheduled its promises to increase wages, give workers the freedom to set up independent and self-governing trade unions, and give them access to mass media. In the streets leading trade unionists distributed leaflets bearing the slogan "Sympathy today, success tomorrow." Public transport and large stores came to a stop. Strike notices and national flags, symbol of national solidarity during the August movement, were visible everywhere. More policemen patrolled the streets to keep order.

In Warsaw, workers in the Ursus tractor plant, the Zeran automobile plant, the Warsaw steelworks and other large-scale enterprises downed tools. Buses ground to a halt and a number of shops closed. University students declared their support for the strike.

In Poznan, Lodz and other regions, plant workers, shop employees and drivers also went on strike.

On 13:00 sharp, all sirens blew in unison to declare the end of the walk-out and the return of normal life.

The warning strike today was called by the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union headquartered in Gdansk. On the eve of the strike, Polish Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski had held talks with Lech Walesa, chairman of the consultative committee of the union. But the two sides failed to reach any agreement.

Observers here noted that the strike was a symbolic action taken by the new trade union to demonstrate the strength and sense of organization and discipline of the Polish workers.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' CITES REACTION AT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

OW080758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0742 GMT 8 Oct 80

[Text] United Nations, October 7 (XINHUA)--The South African racist regime and its policy of racism and apartheid has been under vehement condemnation by the overwhelming majority of countries during the debate of the General Assembly over the past fortnight. The African states have been particularly vociferous in their condemnation.

The speakers have firmly supported the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and endorsed the United Nations' efforts for the independence of Namibia.

Wilson M. Chakulya, Zambian foreign minister, stated that "the illegal South African regime has intensified its manoeuvres aimed at the consolidation of a puppet regime in Namibia." He declared that South Africa has stepped up its unprovoked acts of aggression against independent African states of Angola and Zambia.

He also drew attention to the fact that the implementation of the United Nations plan in respect to Namibia had not yet begun, saying that the delay was directly due to the negative attitude of South Africa.

He pointed out that the situation in Namibia was but an extension of the apartheid system in South Africa itself.

Siaka Stevens, president of the Republic of Sierra Leone, speaking as chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), stated "Far from withdrawing from Namibia the regime of South Africa has resorted to tricks and manoeuvres, designed to entrench itself deeper in territory to which it has not the slightest legal right."

He noted that "the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a negotiated settlement has led to nothing but frustration because of the chicanery and delaying tactics of South Africa." He hoped that further negotiations would speedily be held and result in success.

The president went on to say, in South Africa itself apartheid remains the cornerstone of the racist regime's policy, and declared that OAU expressed its total commitment to the struggle against apartheid. He said, "We intend to press strongly for total economic sanctions, including an oil embargo."

Simon Muzenda, deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs of Zimbabwe, said that Zimbabwe would vigorously fight to end apartheid within the framework of the OAU, adding "We pledge our assistance to the legitimate liberation movements of South Africa in their just struggle to end apartheid and create a non-racial society in that troubled country."

He stressed, "We salute the efforts of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people, to liberate Namibia and we pledge our militant solidarity with the people of Namibia."

Tanzanian Foreign Minister Benjamin W. Mkapa reiterated Tanzania's continued support to the armed liberation struggle waged by SWAPO.

Lesotho Foreign Minister Charles Dube Moalpo said that South Africa continued to constitute another major area of world tension and stated that Lesotho registered its support for the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' VIEWS CELEBRATION OF VANUATU'S INDEPENDENCE

OW070750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] Port Vila, October 6 (XINHUA correspondent)--Today is a day of jubilation for the Vanuatu people, who are warmly celebrating the first constitutional day since they achieved independence on July 30 this year.

National flags were fluttering over government buildings, shops and banks. The tropical landscape looks more beautiful after rain. In the early morning, people, young and old, started to gather in front of the government office building. A few have their shirts printed with the national flag or the words "Vanuatu independence." This is their pride, no more will be the name "New Hebrides," given by the so-called "discoverer" British Captain James Cook in 1774.

A guard of honour in new white-top black-trousers uniform stood at attention, with rifles in hands. At 8 a.m. sharp, President of the Republic George Sokomanu, Prime Minister Walter Hadye Lini, government ministers, representative assembly members and the diplomatic corps mounted the rostrum, followed by the singing of the national anthem by a group of girls in red blouses and white skirts.

In his remarks at the ceremony, President Sokomanu briefly reviewed the hard-won struggle against colonial rule, as early as the Rongofuro disturbance in 1914. Amidst warm applause the president designated the government office square "the constitutional place."

Prime Minister Lini stressed the importance of the constitution, which ended the 74 years' colonial condominium by Britain and France.

What makes the Vanuatu people particularly happy is the quick and smooth solution of the rebellion in the country's biggest island Espiritu Santo started by separatist Jimmy Stevens and supported by French-speaking land owners.

In an interview at the Presidential House later today with a group of foreign journalists including this correspondent, President said Stevens

and a handful of his followers have been arrested and put in jail, waiting for trial later this month. He called for national unity to build the country.

In his interview given after the ceremony, Prime Minister Lini noted that his government is working on a ten-year economic development program to realize economic independence and self-sufficiency. In foreign relations, he said, Vanuatu will have stronger links and cooperation with Asian countries, those of the South Pacific in particular. "We need a lot of hard work to get the country economically viable," he said.

The newly-independent country, Vanuatu, is situated in the south-western Pacific Ocean and has a population of some 112,000. It is rich in coconut, with a production of 49,000 tons of copra last year. Other resources for exports are beef, fish, cocoa, timber and manganese.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRITISH LABOR PARTY ENDS ANNUAL CONFERENCE

QW031614 Beijing XINHUA in English 1600 GMT 3 Oct 80

[Text] Blackpool, Britain, October 3 (XINHUA)--Britain's opposition Labour Party ended its five-day annual conference here today.

The conference was featured by a bitter debate within the party over the reform of its constitution and policies on the EEC and defence.

After a series of heated arguments inside and outside the conference, it adopted a resolution that the party leader would be elected by the party as a whole, not by members of the Labour parliamentary group as before. Another resolution passed holds that every sitting Labour member of Parliament should seek re-selection as a candidate at his constituency party committee before fighting a general election. Up to now, all MPs have been automatically renominated before each general election.

The annual conference also approved a resolution demanding Britain's withdrawal from the European Economic Community (the EEC) and a resolution asking for Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The conference also strongly attacked the current conservative government for its economic and social policies.

Many papers here held that the annual conference showed that the struggle for power between the left-wing and moderate-wing within the party has escalated.

The Labour Party is one of Britain's two largest parties, which has over seven million members and has strong support from the trade union. The Labour Party lost the general election last year.

CSO: 4030

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STRIKE IN IRELAND CAUSING FUEL SHORTAGE

QW070742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] London, October 6 (XINHUA)--Troops have been brought in to deliver petrol in Ireland to replace the striking tank drivers so as to ease the fuel crisis caused by their four-week long unofficial strike, according to reports from Dublin.

The strike was triggered off by an industrial dispute with the employers of an oil company who delayed talks with the tank drivers over a new productivity deal. The strike has brought about a severe petrol shortage throughout the country, with the capital worst hit. Because of the oil supply suspension, a number of filling stations have to close down. And some factories have to reduce working hours.

As many as 1,000 tanker drivers are now on strike. They put forward a number of demands including a pay increase of about 40 per cent, a shorter working week and an increase in shift premium.

Recent reports indicated that army operation has so far been successful and, as a result, oil supply has returned to normal. The labour court has put forward one proposal after another to bring the strike to an early end.

The Irish Republic has been in economic difficulties since the beginning of this year. Latest statistics show that unemployment has hit an all time high since 1977 and inflation is running at an annual rate of 20.2 per cent.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW PRESIDENT APPOINTED IN ARGENTINA

OW041302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1241 GMT 4 Oct 80

[Text] Buenos Aires, October 3 (XINHUA)--Argentina's ruling junta today officially appointed retired Army General Roberto Eduardo Viola as president for 1981-1984 to replace the present president, Jorge Videla.

Viola, considered to share the same political stand with President Videla, will take office next March.

A communique issued by the junta, formed by the army, navy and air force commanders, said that the three had exchanged views on the designation of the president, which involved mainly the interpretation of the formalities of the designation. They "unanimously agreed that despite the existence of different interpretations, the prime consideration should be given to the supreme interest concerning the institutional future of the country and the maintenance of the indispensable unity among the armed forces so as to effectively obtain the objectives and aims of the national reorganization process."

Viola's designation came four days later than the deadline set by the junta. Official sources ascribed the delay to technical reasons. But observers here believed that the armed forces had differed on the issue.

The selection of a retired high-ranking military officer as the next president was based on the relevant documents issued by the military at the end of last year and in August, 1980. During this period, the armed forces had had heated discussions on the issue and various political parties in the country had voiced criticisms, demands and proposals on the government work.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

DUTCH WOMEN'S DELEGATION--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--A women's delegation from the Netherlands had a cordial meeting here this evening with Kang Keqing, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and president of the All-China Women's Federation. The delegation is led by Mrs. G.J. Kraaijeveld-Wouters, secretary of state of culture, recreation and social welfare. After the meeting, Kang Keqing hosted a banquet in honor of the Netherlands guests. The delegation arrived here yesterday on a friendly visit at the invitation of the All-China Women's Federation. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 30 Sep 80 OW]

NEW YORK ART EXHIBIT--New York, 1 Oct (XINHUA)--Noted Chinese painter Han Meilin's ink and brush stroke watercolors go on view in New York at a week-long exhibition at the World Trade Center. Introducing Han Meilin's collection, U.S. professor of art history Philip Gould wrote: "The first American exhibition of paintings by Han Meilin is welcomed as the beginning of a new era of East-West cultural exchanges for contemporary artists." Andrew Stein, president of the borough of Manhattan, said that "the exhibition of Han Meilin's work, which is a combination of stylized traditions which date to the 10th century and are influenced by the impressionists, will serve to invigorate the cultural vitality of the borough of Manhattan and help to foster a spirit of international appreciation of the arts." He proclaimed October 1, 1980 as Han Meilin's day in the borough of Manhattan and extended to Han and his wife a warm welcome on behalf of the more than 1,500,000 citizens of the borough. [Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

NEW YORK PRODUCTS EXHIBIT--New York, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--More than 500 American friends and Chinese Americans visited the exhibition center of the China Resource Products (U.S.A.) Ltd which opened in New York this afternoon. The company is the agent in the United States for the Beijing branch of China National Arts and Crafts Import and Export Corporation and the Beijing Jewelry Branch. In the 16,000 square foot showroom in midtown Manhattan of New York City, the visitors showed great interest in the beautiful and skillful articles, including artistically wrought gold and silver jewelry, jade and semiprecious stone carvings and

embroidery, carpets, lacquer-furniture, cloisonneware and antiques. All the articles on show are distinctive in style and design, exquisitely executed, widely diverse in kind, lifelike, attractively colored and pleasing to the eye. [OW051345 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 3 Oct 80 OW]

TIES WITH PHILIPPINE CITY--Manila, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--The city council of Baguio of the Philippines has approved the draft agreement for a permanent sister city relationship between Baguio and Hangzhou of China, according to a PNA dispatch from that city today. The draft agreement was delivered to the city government by Fan Lian, permanent council member of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries who is now leading the Chinese broadcasting national music ensemble in a performing tour in the Philippines. Baguio is the most picturesque city in the Philippines. A delegation from Baguio which visited China last year laid the groundwork for the sister city agreement. [Text] [OW051345 Beijing XINHUA in English 1633 GMT 4 Oct 80 OW]

ACROBATIC TROUPE IN TRINIDAD, TOBAGO--Georgetown, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--The Chongqing acrobatic troupe of China arrived here this afternoon on a performance tour after its 12-day visit to Trinidad and Tobago. The troupe gave seven performances in five cities of Trinidad and Tobago and drew about 25,000 acrobatic fans. President of Trinidad and Tobago Ellis Clarke and his wife saw the Chinese acrobatic show in an indoor stadium in Port of Spain, capital of the country, on September 28. The president gave a reception for the Chinese troupe which is the first Chinese, and also the first foreign acrobatic troupe to visit this island country in the Caribbean. [Text] [OW041228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 4 Oct 80]

SHAANXI ACROBATS TO KENYA--Nairobi, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi this morning received China's Shaanxi acrobatic troupe in the State House here and had a cordial and friendly conversation with the guests. President Moi said, "I am very happy indeed to have so many Chinese friends visiting Kenya. Your visit almost coincides with my return from my visit to China. This shows the daily developing friendship between the people of our two countries." President Moi and cabinet ministers watched the excellent performances of the Shaanxi acrobatic troupe on October 2. [Text] [OW041252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 4 Oct 80]

UGANDAN LEADER VISITS CUBA--Kampala, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--Paulo Muvanga, chairman of the Ruling Military Commission of Uganda, returned home yesterday after a one-week official visit to Cuba, according to UGANDA TIMES today. During his stay in Havana, Muvanga held private talks with Cuban President Fidel Castro and discussions with Cuban Vice-President and Minister of Defence Raul Castro. The two sides signed an economic and technical agreement, but no details of the agreement were disclosed. An earlier report said that Cuba has promised to send doctors to Uganda

and help Uganda to rehabilitate its sugar industry. Senior government officials revealed that Cuba has committed itself to the training of Ugandan military personnel. Commenting on his current visit to Cuba, Muwanga said that the two countries "have much in common and their aspirations were similar." He also described his visit to Cuba as the "start of a new era" in relations between the two countries. [Text] [OW041238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1246 GMT 4 Oct 80]

JAPAN'S MERCHANT FLEET TO GULF REDUCED--Tokyo, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese merchant fleet going to the Persian Gulf has been reduced to half of its former size because of the war between Iraq and Iran, disclosed sources of transport and shipping circles. Usually, some 60 Japanese merchant ships set out for the Persian Gulf every month to send cars, steel and building materials and other Japanese products to the littoral countries of the Gulf. If the Iraq-Iran war drags on or expands, Japan's foreign trade would be badly hit. [Text] [OW040758 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 4 Oct 80]

INDIA ON PERSIAN GULF NAVAL PATROL--Beijing, 4 Oct (XINHUA)--India yesterday described as dangerous the move to introduce an international naval force for patrolling the Persian Gulf area and hoped that the countries planning to do so would desist from their move, according to a report from New Delhi quoting today's TIMES OF INDIA. A spokesman of the Indian External Affairs Ministry said in a statement that certain countries, not belonging to our region, are trying to constitute an international naval force for patrolling the Gulf area, ostensibly to ensure that the Strait of Hormuz is kept open for normal commercial shipping. "However," the spokesman said, "we feel that the armada idea could achieve the very reverse of what their declared objectives are." "In our view any internationalisation of the unfortunate situation caused by the present conflict between two non-aligned countries, by introducing an international naval force into our region, would be a dangerous move carrying with it the risk of further escalation of the conflict," the spokesman added. [Text] [OW040856 Beijing XINHUA in English 0822 GMT 4 Oct 80]

EL SALVADOR EXTENDS STATE OF SEIGE--Beijing, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--The Salvadoran Government yesterday declared that the state of seige in El Salvador would be extended for another month, according to a report from San Salvador. This is the seventh extension of the seige since the government enforced it last March. Official sources said that the suspension of constitutional guarantees was still necessary in the present circumstances. The state of seige rendered ineffectual the freedom of speech, the freedom of passage and the inviolability of correspondence and privacy of domicile. On the night of October 3, anti-government guerrillas clashed with government troops near the headquarters of the National Guards in the capital. A dozen of people were reportedly killed or wounded in the three-hour gun battle. [Text] [OW050843 Beijing XINHUA in English 0839 GMT 5 Oct 80]

SRV ATTACK ON THAI FISHING BOATS--Bangkok, 6 Oct (XINHUA)--Vietnamese gunboats recently attacked and seized Thai fishing boats which were operating in international or Thai territorial waters. Such attacks have taken place on many occasions and seriously jeopardized the life and property of Thai fishermen. THAI RAT reported today that on October 4 a Vietnamese gunboat intruded into the fishing ground where a number of Thai trawlers from Samut Sakhon Province were operating in the international waters south of Kut Island, Trat Province and seized one Thai boat with 12 fishermen on board. On September 14 and 18, Vietnamese gunboats twice intruded into Thai territorial waters off Trat Province. They sank a Thai fishing boat, wounded five fishermen, and seized another fishing boat and over 30 Thai fishermen. [Text] [OW060844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0824 GMT 6 Oct 80]

JAPAN FREEZES AID TO SRV--Tokyo, 6 Oct (XINHUA)--The Japanese Government has no intention of resuming economic aid to Viet Nam so long as the Vietnamese authorities maintain their troops in Kampuchea, Japanese Foreign Ministry sources said today. They said the Japanese position reflects the wishes of the five ASEAN member nations--Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines. The Japanese Government has frozen about 1.4 billion yen (\$68 million) in its economic aid to Viet Nam in protest against the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. The aid agreement was signed before the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in January last year. [Text] [OW061908 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 6 Oct 80]

SOVIET BEEF PURCHASE FROM COLOMBIA--Bogota, 5 Oct (XINHUA)--Colombian official sources today confirmed that the Soviet Union had recently bought 7,300 tons of beef from Colombia and the first 2,200 tons of frozen beef worth of 5.2 million U.S. dollars would be shipped to the Soviet Union from Barranquilla. This is the first Soviet beef purchase from Colombia. It is reported that the Soviet meat production this year will drop by 5 per cent and the Soviet Union will have to import more meat to meet its domestic demand. [Text] [OW061236 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 6 Oct 80]

PARTY AND STATE

CCP LEADERS PREPARE MAJOR REEVALUATION OF MAO

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] In Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 34-35, 69

[Article by Jan Jian [0917 1696]: "Hu Yaobang's Comment on Mao Within the Party"]

[Text] Changes in Tiananmen Square

On 21 August, I went to Tiananmen Square and discovered to my surprise that the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin that had always hung in the square had vanished.

I believe that there were many other people who, like me, discovered this change in the square at the same time. Noticing the men and women in the square, however, I could not see on their faces the slightest reaction to the removal of these gigantic colored portraits.

I thought: Just a little over 20 days before, when a crane had lifted down from a height of about 20 meters the portrait of Mao Zedong that was hanging in front of the Great Hall of the People, the people in the square did not show the slightest bit of surprise.

Why did the people apparently not react in the slightest to these changes?

CCP officials, in their present raising of the question of "less publicity to the individual," have proposed some concrete measures, the main thrust of them being to oppose the worship and the cult of the individual. This seems to be being done vigorously and speedily. It is said that the CCP Central Committee has issued a directive to the entire party on "less publicity to the individual," one sentence of which is very interesting and has not been seen in the press: "Arrangements already made by each place to commemorate Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, and Deng Xiaoping must be abandoned without exception." But, among the broad masses, the cult and the worship of the individual had long ago ceased to exist.

A youth in the square told me that the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin that had been displayed there were only ornamental items. This sentence is worth deep thought. I immediately made this connection in my mind: the scene in 1978 in Tiananmen Square of Han Zhixiong, hero of the "5 April" incident, and others. Pointing to the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, Han said: Many people opposed to the tyranny of the "gang of four" on 5 April 1976 were beaten and arrested under the likenesses of these teachers of the international communist movement. On that day Han Zhixiong had pasted-up in the square a satirical prose work he had written. Just when he was preparing to collect his bicycle in order to return home, thugs hired to suppress the masses alleged that he was stealing the bicycle and arrested him on the spot. And this crime by the fascist rulers and their hired thugs was committed right under the portrait of Stalin. At that time when I heard what Han Zhixiong had said I thought that this was truly the greatest irony.

In 1978, there was an upsurge of big-character posters in Beijing, and in Tiananmen Square one big-character poster demanded that Mao Zedong be evaluated. At that time to suggest that Mao be appraised was considered treason and heresy. However, ever since Ye Jianying's National Day speech last year, comments on Mao had been made on the quiet inside and outside the party and among the broad masses of people. Especially in recent times, the CCP leaders have one by one evaluated Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, rights and wrongs, and the idol of Mao has already been toppled. Thus, it is no wonder that the people in Tiananmen Square showed not the slightest surprise at the removal of Mao's portrait (the only portrait of Mao left is the one on the Tiananmen rostrum).

Comments on Mao By the Three Top CCP Members

During June and July, several CCP leaders publicly evaluated Mao's merits and demerits, rights and wrongs. Recently, there was Hu Yaobang's statement to the Yugoslav news agency (TANJUG released this statement on 21 June). Following this, there was Li Xiannian's statement when receiving Salisbury, deputy chief editor of the NEW YORK TIMES, on 25 July. And finally, there was Hua Guofeng's written replies, which included a comment on Mao, on 26 July to the Yugoslav newspaper VJESNIK. The statements by the three CCP leaders were not completely identical and their stress was not completely the same, but their main theme, which was almost identical, was: while affirming Mao Zedong's great contributions, we must also admit that he made mistakes.

So that the readers of ZHENGMING will believe that these important CCP members commented on Mao in speeches that can be read in the press, we will report here the basic content of Hu Yaobang's discussion of the Mao question in his recent speech within the party. Hu Yaobang's report was made at the national conference on propaganda work convened by the CCP Central Committee in Beijing. The date was 14 July.

Hu Yaobang's Discussion of Mao's Contributions

Hu Yaobang thinks that there should be a correct understanding of Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. He said: We should pay sufficient attention to his merits while clearly recognizing his demerits. Comrade Mao Zedong's merits were the greatest of all the revolutionaries of the older generation. Without Comrade Mao Zedong, the success of the Chinese revolution would have been delayed and would have been attained at a heavier cost. Hu Yaobang said that Stalin made a seven-point evaluation of Lenin, Mao Zedong made a six-point evaluation of Stalin, and we should make several points in evaluating Mao Zedong. These points are:

1. How to find the path for the revolution in colonial and semicolonial China.
2. Building of the party.
3. How to build socialism and transform China.
4. Mao's contributions to revolutionary military theory were even higher than Stalin's.
5. Mao Zedong contributed to the constant replenishment of the treasure house of Marx and Lenin and to the big and small parties in the world. He also added new things to this treasure house (of course, there was a big difference in the creative and comprehensive development of Marxism-Leninism in the past).

Changes in the Way of Describing Mao's Mistakes

After the gang of four was overthrown, there were differences in the way Mao Zedong's mistakes were described. At first they were called "shortcomings and mistakes" and later "faults" (last year's National Day speech by Ye Jianying). The Fifth Plenary Session of the [11th] Party Central Committee said that he committed serious mistakes in the Cultural Revolution period. How are they described most recently? Deng Xiaoping instructed the conference on propaganda work that the way of describing Mao Zedong's mistakes should be that in his old age he brought great misfortune to the party and state. Deng Xiaoping said that in Mao Zedong's old age his faults were that, subjectively, he was divorced from the masses, from reality, and from the collective, and that, objectively, he had the final and only say, especially the final say, and no one could change his mind once it had been made up.

Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping

When speaking of Mao Zedong Thought, Hu Yaobang said that there are both similarities and differences between Mao Zedong Thought and Mao Zedong,

and that Mao Zedong Thought includes the ideas of Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, and Deng Xiaoping, the revolutionaries of the older generation. The author remembers that in the past when it was said that Mao Zedong was the crystallization of collective wisdom, this meant that it included only the ideas of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation or only the ideas of Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi. Deng Xiaoping is a new addition.

Why have the CCP leaders one after another publicly or privately commented on Mao and discussed the problem of evaluating him? The author reckons that this is in order to prepare public opinion for a comprehensive and systematic evaluation of Mao. It is said that the 12th CCP Congress, to be held at the end of this year or in the spring of next year, will pass a resolution on certain historical questions and that the question of Mao Zedong will be the core of this resolution.

In academic circles and theoretical circles, all sorts of judgmental evaluations of Mao Zedong have already become a common practice.

In Beijing the author came into contact with several professors (some who had come to the capital from outlying areas) who, starting with the research on and teaching of the history of the CCP, brought up the question of a new evaluation of Mao Zedong's writings.

They thought that if the problem of the position of Mao's writings in the history of the party was not solved, there would be no way to write a comprehensive, correct history of the CCP. And, in making this point, they said it was necessary to solve the problem of appraising Mao Zedong's writings.

Mao's Writings Should Not Be Revised at Will

An overall new appraisal and a correct treatment of Mao's writings is important and necessary and is also a process of development. The professors think that it should be done, under the present historical conditions, by an overall analysis in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. To say of Mao's writings that "every sentence is true" is unscientific.

Kang Sheng's Revisions Were the Most Abominable

The professors think that it is best not to revise historical documents and that the author himself should not revise them but should preserve their original historical appearance. If one later discovers parts in the document that are not appropriate, one can learn from the attitude of Marx and Engels toward the "Communist Manifesto," i.e., write a foreword or add explanatory notes and clarifications. Marx and Engels in the "Foreword to the 1820 German Edition of the Communist Manifesto,"

wrote: "Certain parts of the original work could have been revised... but the 'Manifesto' is an historical document and we do not have the right to revise it." This is a scientific attitude that rigorously respects history.

During the 10 years of catastrophe without precedent in history, Kang Sheng's revisions in the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" was the most abominable example. Kang Sheng cut out from Mao's writings all references to Liu Shaoqi. The result was that the Central Military Commission's order appointing leading cadres of the New Fourth Army after the Southern Anhui Incident only named the acting commander, the deputy commander, the chief of staff, and the director of the political department and did not name the political commissar (at that time Liu Shaoqi was the political commissar); in 1947 the Central Work Committee formed after the withdrawal to Yan'an had no secretary. In order to denigrate Liu, he completely excised from the appendix of "Study and the Current Political Situation" the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions."

Moreover, on the question of drawing support from foreign capital, after the promulgation in 1979 of the decree on foreign countries investing in jointly run enterprises, many people felt that this was a problem and some people even attacked it as a slavish comprador philosophy, national betrayal, and a violation of Mao Zedong Thought. Actually, the political report drafted and reviewed by Mao Zedong himself at the CCP Seventh Congress clearly affirmed that investment by foreign countries was welcome. The report, when speaking of the question of China's industrialization, contained this passage: "In order to develop industry, we need a large amount of capital, and where is this capital to come from? There are only two possibilities: we will depend mainly on the capital accumulated by the Chinese people themselves. At the same time we will draw support from foreign aid. With the provisos that the investment is in accord with the laws of China and benefits China's economy, we welcome investment by foreign countries, and this investment will benefit both the people of China and the people of foreign countries." From today's perspective we see that this passage was without fault and has stood the test of history. But when the third volume of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" was officially published, all passages concerning this question were cut out. The experience of history proves that the arbitrary revision of historical documents does much harm and little good.

Coverups Cannot Last Long

The professors said: "We should adopt the attitude of historical materialism in correctly analyzing and dealing with Mao's writings. Truth exists objectively, and shortcomings and mistakes also exist objectively. Coverups cannot last long."

Their views are convincing. We also hope to see the true features of Mao Zedong's writings restored.

PARTY AND STATE

DENG XIAOPING REPORTED IN VIGOROUS HEALTH

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 36-37

[Article by Yu Wen [0060 2429]: "The State of Deng Xiaoping's Health"]

[Text] In recent years, certain people have discussed and observed Deng Xiaoping. Some people worry that when Deng Xiaoping one day succumbs to the natural law of birth, age, illness and death, the state will be thrown into great disorder. These people hope "His Excellency Deng," an old man with heavy party and governmental duties, can live a longer life. No matter what happens, the state of Deng Xiaoping's health is everyone's concern. Recently a friend of the author, who had an opportunity to learn about recent developments in Deng Xiaoping's life, told me in a letter some interesting things. Enclosed in the letter was an article clipped from a mainland publication concerning Mr Deng. I will summarize these materials below.

Why Does He Love To Play Bridge?

In speaking of Deng Xiaoping's life, many people think of bridge. During the "Cultural Revolution," Beijing's "Red Guard tabloids" described Deng Xiaoping's bridge playing as "decadent." These tabloids said: "No matter where Deng Xiaoping goes to inspect, no matter where he goes by aircraft, train, or ship, he plays bridge.... In the sky and on the earth, at sea and on land, at home and outside the home, at the center and in the localities, he plays bridge." The 25 February 1967 issue of NEW BEIJING UNIVERSITY contained a passage "exposing" Deng Xiaoping's bridge playing. It said that, in the summer of 1964, Deng, Yang Shang-kun, Bo Yibo, and others went to the northeast on an inspection. On the way, he thought about playing bridge but unfortunately had no opponents. He sent an urgent cable to Wan Li and Wu Han in Beijing, telling them to come. Owing to his involvement in busy government affairs, Wan Li could not get away, so he let Wu Han take two other persons on Yang Shangkun's private plane and fly straight to Harbin in order to make up a bridge foursome for Deng Xiaoping. The truth of the news and the versions of events put out by Red Guard newspapers leave much room for doubt. But,

since Deng Xiaoping began playing bridge at the Sichuan Institute. In the 1950's, bridge has been his hobby and he has become a "bridge addict." Why does he like to play bridge so much?

There is a secret here.

Originally, Deng Xiaoping looked upon bridge as a true physical sport that helped dispel fatigue and relax the brain.

Wan Li, Peng Zhen Are "Old Bridge Cronies"

In that case, does he still play a lot of bridge? Yes.

In the past 3 or 4 years, owing to his work keeping him very busy, he has been compelled to reduce the time for the walks he loves to take. Also, while strolling, he usually ponders over some problems and cannot get sufficiently rested. In order to regulate his life, he continues to play bridge. He once said: "Only when playing bridge can I stop thinking about other things. When concentrating on the cards, my mind is fully rested." His "old bridge cronies" Wan Li and Peng Zhen, as before, sometimes play bridge with him.

Deng Xiaoping's interest in recreation and sport is not limited to bridge. For example, he likes to play billiards and is quite good at it, being able to make a run of over 100 points.

He has been interested in recreation and sport since he was a youngster.

As a student he loved soccer. When in France on a work-study program, he did all kinds of work, mainly hard work--boiler tending, waiting on tables.... After intensive study and work, he and his fellow students liked to take part in sports and watch matches. Once he pawned his coat to buy a ticket to see an exciting Olympic soccer match. He was very fond of soccer and continued to be fond of it after liberation. In the 1950's, he was a frequent spectator at playing fields. Afterward he more often watched soccer matches on television. His physical exercise in his youth and his trekking across battlefields in later years toughened his feet.

In 1958, he fractured a leg which, after it had healed, was weak. At his doctor's suggestion, he conscientiously underwent therapy and developed the habit of taking a daily walk.

Attacked by the "Cultural Revolution"

In the first 2 years of the "Cultural Revolution," Deng Xiaoping was a target of attack. His sons, daughters, and other family members were all driven out of his house, and he and his wife, Zhuolin, dwelt alone in a small secluded compound in Zhongnanhai. They swept the floor, did the

cooking, and managed the household affairs themselves. At this time, although the political currents were constantly changing, he stuck to his long-formed habit of taking walks. Every day, early in the morning, he walked a fixed number--several tens--of circuits around two old locust trees in the compound, and on each circuit he took a fixed number of steps--conscientiously sticking to this regimen.

His Work in a Nanchang Factory

In 1969, Deng Xiaoping and Zhuolin were hurriedly moved from Beijing to a small solitary compound in the suburbs of Nanchang, Jiangxi. Surrounding their house was a bamboo fence higher than a man and there was little room for activity. Besides sticking to his 40-circuit walk around the courtyard, he and Zhuolin cultivated a vegetable plot and raised a flock of chickens. The tap water frequently didn't reach the second story in which they lived. Deng Xiaoping, who was then over 60 years old, often brought the water upstairs himself.

During the time he lived in seclusion in the Nanchang suburb, the upper levels ordered Deng Xiaoping to work at a nearby factory every day. He walked to the factory and back home--a half hour's journey each way. At first he was given light work, but he said he wanted to do heavy work. He then did the strenuous work of filing down screws and gave himself a daily production quota. Even though Deng Xiaoping at this time was doing "penal labor," he was interested in the job he was doing; the workers around him said behind his back: "Deng Xiaoping puts all his strength into the job!"

Unemployed After the Tiananmen Incident

In 1976, Deng Xiaoping was fired from his job and forced to lead a quiet life in an old Beijing-style courtyard. From childhood he had liked to swim and had formed the habit of taking cold baths. For several decades he had stuck to this habit, and only that year, because of old age, did he stop taking cold baths. But, still hale and hearty, he continued to take daily walks and did simple gymnastic exercises that he himself had devised. When summer arrived, the grass under the trees in the courtyard had grown about a foot high. Deng Xiaoping, observing this with interest, told his daughter to buy a sickle, and he then cut the grass in the courtyard every day.

Making the 60-1.1 Ascent of Mount Huang on Foot

After the gang of four was smashed and Deng Xiaoping had made his comeback, owing to "mountainous problems" he had to attend to numerous affairs of state every day and cut back on his recreational and sports activities. In order to preserve his vigor and health, at the urging of his old colleagues and family, Deng Xiaoping decided to make an ascent of Mount Huang in July of last year.

Mount Huang, 1,800 meters above sea level, is the most scenic of the Five Sacred Mountains. The year that Chen Yi ascended Mount Huang he wrote on an honorary tablet, "This is the number one mountain in the world."

Early in the morning on 17 July, Deng Xiaoping set out from a waterfall-viewing lodge at the foot of the mountain. Facing the morning sun, he began the walk up the mountain on a 60-kilometer trail. Although he had reached the advanced age of 75, he led the way. With good strength in his legs, he climbed 30 precipitous steps without a break, leaving behind his relatives who were accompanying him.... When he reached the Ciguang Pavilion, the face of Deng Xiaoping, who was wearing a short-sleeved shirt, was red and he was dripping with sweat, but he was still enthusiastic. He took a short rest and then, bending down to roll up his trousers legs, took hold of his walking stick and said in a loud and clear voice full of energy: "let's go!" This gave everybody new strength. Whenever he came to a dangerously steep place, he turned his head back and told everybody to be careful. By noon the party had reached the ancient Hanshan Monastery and, after eating lunch and taking a short rest there, resumed its journey, starting out for Yuping Peak. Deng Xiaoping spent the night at the Yuping Lodge.

On the 2nd day, Deng Xiaoping and his party climbed Guangmi peak by a 100-step scaling ladder.

On the third day, Deng Xiaoping and his party began to climb toward steep places from where they could get a magnificent view of the vast, mist-shrouded Western Sea. The mountain trail was precipitous and the members of his party wanted to assist him, but with a smile he rejected their help. Like a youth, he clambered up, holding onto the chain at the side of the steps.... By coming this far, Deng Xiaoping had proved that he had a strong constitution. For 3 days he ascended by the rugged mountain path the peaks of Mount Huang. After drinking in the wonderful scenery of Tiandu Peak and Lianhua Peak, he said with feeling: "After Mount Huang, the other famous mountains would be a cinch to climb."

After descending from Mount Huang, Deng Xiaoping's enthusiasm was not exhausted and he went for a swim at the Qingdao seashore.

From this one can see that the state of Deng Xiaoping's health is very good.

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PARTY AND STATE

'AFP' CITES SHANGHAI PAPER ON SENTENCING OF GANG FOLLOWER

OW061452 Hong Kong AFP in English 1406 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Article by Francis Deron]

[Text] Beijing, Oct 6 (AFP)--On the eve of the fourth anniversary of the arrest on October 7, 1976 of the gang of four radicals led by Mao Zedong's widow Jiang Qing, the Chinese authorities today announced the death sentencing of one of the leaders of the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai.

The passing of the death sentence suspended for two years on Hu Yongnian has come as a curtain raiser both to the forthcoming trial in Beijing of Jiang Qing and her main associates and to future trials of other Cultural Revolution leaders.

The Shanghai WEN HUI BAO newspaper described the sentence as a "serious warning to the remnants of the counterrevolutionary cliques" of the time, implying such leaders.

Commenting on the sentence passed Saturday, the newspaper said Hu was "only a small fry who became a hooligan" and that his rise to power "was not an isolated phenomenon."

Becoming a member of the revolutionary committee in China's largest city and director of the municipal sports commission Hu was found guilty of acts of "maltreatment, vandalism and looting" and of serious physical abuse sometimes resulting in death against scores of people.

In finding Hu guilty the Shanghai court focused particularly on his relations with then Mayor Zhang Chunqiao, one of the members of the gang of four.

Jiang Qing and the three radical leaders from Shanghai, the cradle of the Cultural Revolution, were arrested less than a month after Mao's death.

The operation was led by then Premier Hua Guofeng, who subsequently succeeded Mao as chairman of the Communist Party, and carried out with the consent of Marshal Ye Jianying, a Long March veteran of great influence in the army.

The arrests were made by the elite units commanded by Mao's bodyguard Wang Dongxing, who was recently relieved of his positions. Now four years later, the leadership set up by Communist Party Vice-Chairman Deng Xiaoping, the highest ranking Cultural Revolution victim still alive, is going through the final formalities preceding the trial of Jiang Qing and nine other former top leaders.

The possibility that death sentences will be passed at the trial has not been ruled out.

On trial with Jiang Qing will be her fellow gang of four members Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan, Mao's former secretary Chen Boda and five other figures accused of attempting to assassinate Mao in 1971.

The prosecution brief built up by the Supreme People's Procuratorate is shortly to be handed over to a special procuratorate which it was announced last week has been set up to handle the case.

The procuratorate will put the case before a special court of 35 judges which will begin hearings one week after the 10 accused have been notified of the charges against them.

The authorities have announced that other trials will be held of former associates of Jiang Qing and of former Defence Minister Lin Biao who disappeared in 1971 in mysterious circumstances.

The WEN HUI BAO indicated that investigations were underway at the moment and stressed that justice should not "show magnanimity to those who should be tried for their criminal responsibility" for the disturbances of the Cultural Revolution period.

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

'TA KUNG PAO' COMMENTS ON UPCOMING TRIAL OF LIN, JIANG CLIQUES

HK040636 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 28 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Kung Yao-wen: "Ten Views on the Trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing Counterrevolutionary Cliques"]

[Text] The date for the trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques will soon arrive. People throughout China and the whole world have been looking forward to this for a long time.

What should have occurred has finally arrived at long last although 9 years have elapsed since Lin Biao's ignominious death in Wen-du-er-han [3306 6757 3643 3352] and 4 years have elapsed since the arrest of Jiang Qing and other criminals.

Judging from yesterday's announcement from Beijing, the following are some points worth noting:

Two Combine Into One--Jiang Qing Is the Leader

First, the two counterrevolutionary cliques will be prosecuted in one case. This is because during the first 5 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," they acted in collusion, usurped party leadership and state power together and plunged the country and people into calamities together. Even after the death of Lin Biao, the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique still recruited Lin Biao's followers and carried on counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities.

Second, although the "gang of four" is still called the second anti-party clique, the names of this clique's leaders are now arranged in a different order. In the past, the name of former CCP Central Committee Vice Chairman Wang Hongwen was always placed before others, thus labeling them as Wang-Zhang-Jiang-Yao. Now the name of Jiang Qing is placed before the others, thus conforming to the actual situation. In his important speech delivered at the recent NPC session, Chairman Hua Guofeng placed the name of Jiang Qing before other members of the gang.

Ten Principal Defendants--Kang Sheng Has Not Been Mentioned

Third, in addition to the four principal defendants, six other principal defendants will also be brought to trial. These are: Chen Boda, a self-styled "very common person" who actually is a big scoundrel; Lin Biao's "four great warrior attendants," namely, Huang Yongsheng who once controlled the General Staff Headquarters, Wu Faxian who once controlled the air force, Li Zuopeng who once controlled the navy and Qiu Huizuo who once controlled the General Logistics Department; and Jiang Tengjiao, a former commander of the East China Air Force, who was involved in the nationally known incident of sending military planes to pursue and attack a special train in an attempt to assassinate Chairman Mao Zedong.

Fourth, no prosecution will be instituted against those others who are deceased. Of course, the deceased include the Lin Biao family, namely, Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguang who died during a crash which occurred beyond the Great Wall. It seems that Kang Sheng is among those others who are deceased.

The latest announcement has apparently failed to explain the relationship between Kang Sheng and these two counterrevolutionary cliques. Was he an insider or an outsider of the two cliques? Was he a member or a senior commanding general of the two cliques?

According to a report, the case of Kang Sheng was investigated some time ago as a special case and the results of this investigation will be announced. His counterrevolutionary crimes which violated the criminal law are too numerous to list.

The Others Accused in the Case of the Two Cliques--The So-called "Cultural Revolution"

Fifth, in addition to the 10 principal defendants, the others accused in the case will be tried separately. It is said originally that due to a reduction in the scope, the others accused in the case of the "gang of four" only amount to some 200 people. In addition to the others accused in this case, there are also the others accused in the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao. It seems that the others accused in the case of the two cliques amount to several hundred people. It seems that the others accused in the case of Lin Biao include Zhou Yuchi, a former department head of the air force, who ordered a helicopter to fly to Mongolia and later shot dead a pilot who disobeyed his order; and Ding Sheng who directly assisted the rebel Lin Biao and his son in establishing a base within the southern gate of China. The hands of Jiang Qing and her trusted followers are also stained with a lot of blood. Jiang Qing used as her model "The Count of Monte Cristo" to actively take her revenge. Prior to the execution of a young Liaoning woman, Zhang Zhixin, her larynx was cut off. Her execution was of course carried out under the orders of some people.

Sixth, quotation marks have been added to the term the Great Cultural Revolution which appeared in the report made yesterday by Huang Huoqing, chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, at a session of the NPC Standing Committee. It seems that the quotation marks are not used for handling a special term but are used for negating this term's literal meaning. In his recent meeting with that noted Italian woman correspondent, Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping said that the Great Cultural Revolution brought no benefit whatsoever. The current use of the quotation marks in this term shows that it is now regarded as the "so-called Great Cultural Revolution."

The Prosecution Against Them Centers Only on Their Crimes and Does Not Deal With Their Political Line

Seventh, in answering questions raised by that noted woman correspondent, Deng Xiaoping said: The prosecution against the "gang of four" centers only their criminal offenses and does not deal with their political line. The latest report made by Huang Huoqing gave more details about the prosecution.

Huang Huoqing said: The 10 principal accused from the two counter-revolutionary cliques will be prosecuted on four criminal counts; simply put, their crimes were those of usurping party leadership and state power and bringing calamity to the country and the people. He added: "The prosecution against Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company involves only their counterrevolutionary crimes which violated the criminal law and does not deal with their errors in work, including those related to political line."

In his talk with that Italian correspondent, Deng Xiaoping said: The prosecution of them for their criminal offenses is quite sufficient for arriving at a verdict of guilty. However, because of this trial, people cannot very well avoid raising the following questions: Can these criminal offenses be really separated from things related to political line? Is it true that errors related to political line encouraged these criminal offenses?

The Trial--The Appraisal of Mao--The 12th Party Congress

Eighth, that woman correspondent raised this question: Will the trial examine issues concerning Mao? Deng Xiaoping replied: "I can assure you that the trial of the 'gang of four' will in no way damage the image of Chairman Mao. Of course, it will show that he should bear some responsibilities such as assigning the 'gang of four' to some posts."

Judging from the arrangements made by Beijing, we can see that Beijing will also carry out a comprehensive appraisal of Chairman Mao Zedong's contributions and errors so as to promote the criticism of the leftist line and steadily quicken the pace of construction. However, this work

will be carried out after the trial of the "gang of four" and during the 12th National CCP Congress. This point was stressed in Chairman Hua Guofeng's talk with a Yugoslav correspondent. It is said that a document concerning the appraisal of Chairman Mao has already been passed around within a certain level for perusal and deliberation.

Oppose Left Deviation and the Pernicious Influence of Feudalism

Ninth, the two counterrevolutionary cliques had two vice chairmen of the CCP Central Committee, namely, Lin Biao and Wang Hongwen. These two vice chairmen were also the "successors" designated by the man who instituted the lifelong appointment system. If Kang Sheng who has not been mentioned is added to the list, the two cliques had a total of three vice chairmen. Moreover, Jiang Qing, head of the clique, had a special status.

These conditions show that since the founding of new China some 30 years ago, there are still many vestiges of feudalism. Therefore, the mainland is not only exerting all its strength to expose the pernicious influence of the leftist line but is also sparing no effort to criticize the pernicious influence of feudalism. This is completely necessary.

Tenth, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary [cliques' trial] will be handled by a special court set up by the NPC Standing Committee. This is another Chinese measure to strengthen the country's legal system. The fate of the 10 principal counterrevolutionary criminals is of course noteworthy. However, the more important thing is the lessons people throughout the country may draw from this case.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'CHENG MING' CARRIES 'INTERNAL REPORTS' ON TRIAL OF 'GANG OF FOUR'

HK040751 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 50-52

[Report: "Explanations on the Trial of the 'Gang of Four' Contained in Internal CCP Reports"]

[Text] Deng Liqun and Liao Gailong, who occupy high positions in party affairs and theoretical research in the CCP, explained and analyzed the question of trying the "gang of four" in internal reports delivered several months ago. We now record the relevant parts of their speeches.

Liao Gailong's Internal Report Given in Tianjin (Partial)

"We must clearly distinguish the nature of the problem of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and the question of its connection with the extreme 'left' line. What is the problem of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four'? The nature of the activity they wanted to pursue was that of counter-revolutionary restoration. Hence, the struggle between us and them is a question of revolution and counterrevolution. The nature of the problem of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' was that of carrying out counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities to usurp party and state power and plot a coup.

"In future we must put them on trial for their crimes. They committed counterrevolutionary crimes. We will soon put on trial 10 bad people: the five confederates of Lin Biao--Huang, Wu, Li, Qui, and Chen Boda--the 'gang of four'--Wang Zhang, Jiang and Yao--and also Mao Yuanxin. We must sentence them for their crimes. Comrade Hua Guofeng has said in his report that we should not sentence them to death but they must be sentenced and put on trial. Some people say, will there be a public trial? I am afraid that would not be easy. How could these people be put on public trial, since they shirk the responsibility for their crimes and pin onto Chairman Mao the counterrevolutionary crimes they committed themselves? However, the result of the trial will be publicly announced. That is probably the way it will be. This is the problem of their counterrevolutionary crimes; this is their counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique.

"However, they also took advantage of the mistakes made by the party, meaning the errors of certain 'leftist' lines committed by our party's leaders. They took advantage of this error, pushed it to extremes, and pushed 'leftist' things to extremes, that is, the extreme 'left.' They created and carried out an extreme 'left' line. What is the relationship between these two things? The 'leftist' erroneous line constituted a problem of mistakes made by good people and by our party. However, the extreme 'left' line of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' was an extreme 'left' line created by a counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique in making use of our errors. The nature of this extreme 'left' line was counterrevolutionary.

"Some people say, how could they be extreme rightists one moment and extreme 'leftists' the next? This is because Chairman Mao said that the problem of Lin Biao was not extreme 'leftism' but extreme rightism. People could not understand how if Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were extreme 'leftists' he was described as rightist, which would make them more 'leftist' than him. Where then had 'leftism' gone? Again, if he was reckoned to be an extreme rightist, he should have joined up with the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and with the capitalist roaders, so how could he have toppled the capitalist roaders? Does calling him a rightist mean that if he did not join up with the capitalist roaders he was rightist? This point cannot be explained. When we say that he was counterrevolutionary, in general we do not speak of him as 'left' or right; we distinguish between left and right when speaking of the line. It is called rightist to surrender to imperialism and the ruling class. 'Down with everything' is 'leftist'! He precisely pursued 'down with everything.' For instance some people say, why did he overthrow Peng Zhen? Would he say, Peng Zhen is a revolutionary, so I will overthrow him? No. He would say, Peng Zhen is a capitalist roader, he opposes Chairman Mao and has turned Beijing into an 'impenetrable' 'independent kingdom.' He therefore disguised himself as most, most revolutionary. This is how he deceived people.

"If we say that he was counterrevolutionary, how is it that we were unable to see that? Could none of us see it? Quite large numbers of the masses were led astray and deceived by them. When giving his explanation on 25 September, Comrade Hu Qiaomu said, I was led astray at the time and thought that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were revolutionary. Comrade Hu Yaobang said, I too was led astray. That was the case with all of us. Who could see things clearly when the business had just started? Lin Biao claimed to be revolutionary, to support Chairman Mao the most, and to be most, most revolutionary. I thought so too. However very soon very many people saw the truth. The older generation of revolutionaries saw it first; they had political experience and analytical ability. They struggled against them right from the start. Did not the older generation of revolutionaries launch a 'February adverse current'? This was a resolute struggle that the older

generation of revolutionaries waged against them after realizing their true features. Secondary, the cadres and masses suspected them right from the start, and then boycotted them. The party and CYL members and the masses did not agree with toppling all old cadres and branding people as conservatives. Some people understood the truth and became aware earlier than others. For example Zhang Zhixin understood the truth after taking part in rebellion for less than 1 year. She formed a viewpoint in a systematic way. She formed a complete viewpoint in 1966 and held that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were bad, she also realized that certain slogans put forward by Chairman Mao such as 'bombard the headquarters' and his criticisms of Liu Shaoqi were erroneous. She held that our party was pushing a 'leftist' line. She boldly raised the question in this way. There are still many comrades who do not understand that our party has made 'leftist' mistakes and carried out a 'leftist' line. But Comrade Zhang Zhixin formed her viewpoint 11 years ago. She was truly a great trailblazer in our movement to emancipate the mind, and a heroic martyr. She was very wise. Like me, many comrades did not understand the truth after 1972 and 1973, after the fall of Lin Biao, and only gradually came to see through the 'gang of four' after observing the way they were opposing Premier Zhou. That was already very late. Certain comrades cannot understand the truth even now, and are unable to distinguish between right and wrong. Some people still hold that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were leftists. Probably they were too 'leftist'! They still do not understand that our party made mistakes. Thus they were deceived by them. So what has criticizing their extreme 'leftist' line and bringing them to trial for their counter-revolutionary crimes to do with us? However, in criticizing their extreme 'leftist' line we should think about ourselves and see whether we have any lingering poison of extreme 'leftism.' We should carry out a good examination of ourselves and wash away the remnant poison. That will be beneficial for everyone."

Deng Liqun's Internal Report Given in the Central Party School (Partial)

"Comrade Peng Zhen holds that we cannot try Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' for their line but only for their crimes. The problem of line is an internal party matter, and problems of line in the party can only be solved within the party, not in court. We should therefore clearly proclaim that Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were a counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique; this point should be affirmed first. As for the ultraleftist line, this will not be mentioned at all in court; they will be arraigned and sentenced for their counterrevolutionary crimes.

"Our party has made mistakes. Proceeding from their counterrevolutionary aims, the conspirators and careerists Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' made use of our mistakes and pushed them to extremes. They created and pushed an ultraleftist line, went in for 'toppling everything' and 'fighting all-round civil war,' usurped party and state power and plotted a coup. These counterrevolutionary conspiratorial crimes were

Totally different in nature from the mistakes made by the party. They are the most ferocious enemies of the people of the whole country. Their problem cannot be solved by applying the method of inner-party struggle.

"Comrade Peng Zhen has said: He is in charge of political and legal work, and the central authorities have assigned him the task of trying and sentencing the counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' What should they be tried for? They cannot be tried for the problem of line; they can only be criticized for that.

"They are counterrevolutionary and we are revolutionary; we want to seize power and they want to counterseize power; they want a restoration and we want to oppose restoration; this is a struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, and so, if we are said to have made mistakes in line, and Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' pursued an ultraleftist line, where does the distinction lie? They camouflaged themselves, waved the banner of 'revolution,' and deliberately created and pushed an ultraleftist line. Those of us who made mistakes in line did not conceal their political viewpoints. People who pursue counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities want to conceal their political viewpoints and their true features. No matter what mistakes Chairman Mao made during the Great Cultural Revolution, he never concealed his ideas and theories from the party. He opposed Liu Shaoqi and even talked to Snow about what time he would start to topple Liu Shaoqi. Was the big-character poster 'bombard the headquarters' concealed? Although he did not name names, was it not as clear as daylight that he was aiming at Comrade Liu Shaoqi when he mentioned the rightist tendency of 1962 and the 'left' in form but right in essence of 1964? At that time I was regarded as an agent of Liu Shaoqi in the magazine RED FLAG. When I saw this, I became an agent in 'bombarding the headquarters.' (Editor's note: Deng Liqun was Liu Shaoqi's secretary before the Cultural Revolution) The matter became clear as soon as I looked at it. As for the things that Chairman Mao said and did, the things that Lin Biao said and did, and the things that the 'gang of four' said and did, it is necessary to carry out meticulous work and analysis with regard to what problems to deal with and how to draw distinctions... Was there any difference between the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and the mistakes made by Chairman Mao during the Great Cultural Revolution? The comrades will be able to draw the distinctions so long as they contrast things in a truth-seeking and cool and sober way. This distinction is very important. It is not only a question of whether or not to conceal one's political viewpoint; in addition, what Chairman Mao said and wrote differed on many points from the utterances of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' and the distinctions should be made. The chairman also seriously criticized Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' on many issues. Lin Biao talked of and acted for turning the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a target to be completely smashed. As soon as the chairman saw this, he said: It is inappropriate to completely smash

this, we can only talk of improving the dictatorship of the proletariat, not of completely smashing it. On the question of factionalism, the chairman pointed out at an early stage: Within the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class cannot split into two irreconcilable factions, they must unite. However Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' regarded factional activities and factionalism as a legal thing in the party and army. At the time we could not draw clear distinctions; it was very difficult to draw clear distinctions on certain matters at the time. Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' waved banners and said that this was the chairman's instruction and that was the chairman's instruction... Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' were counterrevolutionary double-dealers; they used counterrevolutionary double-dealing methods against the party and people. This is one of the reasons why their ultraleftist line was able to run wild. They adopted a 'most, most revolutionary' pose and made use of the prestige of the revolutionary leader to stir up religious-style fanaticism while describing themselves as 'holding highest,' 'following closest,' 'always loyal to the leader,' and 'always acting according to the principles laid down.' Since they held legal positions in the Central Committee at the time, and also because they used these methods, they indeed led astray for a time quite large numbers of cadres and masses who lacked political experience and analytical ability. Speaking of myself, I never had any doubts about Lin Biao right up to the time of the Lushan conference. Although I felt that certain of his ways of putting things were inappropriate, I believed that he supported Chairman Mao, and I held that it was very good to select him as successor. I also talked to others and cited historical experience to show that a great figure needs to be supported by another great figure. Marx needed the support of Engels, Lenin needed the support of Stalin, and Chairman Mao needed the support of Lin Biao. That was the way I looked at it. After the liberation of the northeast, I thought in my mind, and I also exchanged this view with certain comrades: The chairman originally intended to let Liu Shaoqi be his successor, but after the northeast had been completely liberated, I held that it would be better if Lin Biao rather than Liu Shaoqi became the successor. This was because Liu Shaoqi was politically strong but did not know how to fight a war, and to be politically strong without knowing how to fight a war was a great defect for a successor in China. Lin Biao was both politically strong and also knew how to fight a war; in my view, he would be the most suitable successor. In talking of the 'three great helpers,' I indeed held that Lin Biao was the third great helper. However, no matter how well counterrevolution is camouflaged, it cannot completely camouflage its true features but will always expose them. Certain old revolutionaries boycotted Lin Biao the moment he rose to power. As his features became ever more exposed and his crimes became ever greater, more and more people understood what kind of person he was, and we cannot say that Chairman Mao also deceived us. He openly made his viewpoints and opinions known to the party and people. When he wanted to do something he told everyone about it; he talked within the party about toppling Liu Shaoqi and about his dissatisfaction with

the premier. He did not go in for concealment and deception with regard to Comrade Xiaoping. As soon as he saw the letter from the wife of Comrade Liu Jianshang, Chairman Mao issued a criticism: Who is carrying out these fascist methods in our prisons? In short, we must distinguish between Chairman Mao's errors in line and the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four,' drawing strict distinctions; this is indeed a very important issue."

"We must truly understand that if the chairman had not called them the 'gang of four' and said that their problem must be solved, the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua would have lacked a legal basis for solving their problem. That would have been much more difficult."

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FEUDAL BUREAUCRACY DURING QING DYNASTY SCRUTINIZED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 135-144

[Article by Wang Sizhi [3769 1835 3112] and Jin Chengji [6855 2052 1015]:
"The Feudal Bureaucracy in the Early Qing Dynasty, as Seen from the Civil-
[ian Government at the Time"]

[Excerpts] Bureaucratic politics is an extremely important component of feudal autocracy. It was precisely through such a multilayered pyramid of various levels of bureaucratic organs that the feudal ruling class in China's successive dynasties realized its rule and control over the people of the whole country. This model of bureaucratic rule was called "civil government."

Differentiation between the rich and the noble, the lofty and the lowly, in a strict hierarchy of classes; rampant avarice and random disregard of the law, with bribery publicly practiced; the following of precedent and sticking to convention; corruption and ineptitude--these were several of the outstanding characteristics of feudal bureaucratic politics. In history, such rotten bureaucracy not only played a gigantic negative role in the development of our economy and the advancement of our society, but it also was often the fountainhead of disturbances in society.

Although, as China's feudal ruling class, they were fundamentally incapable of understanding such profound principles as the upper structure and the economic base, in their own ruling practice they felt deeply that whether their civilian government was good or bad, kind or cruel, and honest or corrupt was directly related to whether their rule was to be safe or endangered, happy or sad. They knew that if they should mishandle it, the result would often be a case of "people revolting because of governmental oppression." Consequently, certain emperors in history who wanted to put forth meritorious performance always attempted to begin by rectifying the civil government so as to consolidate the order of their feudal rule. They demanded that bureaucrats at various levels "be loyal and devote themselves to the public well-being, be honest and diligent in their administrative duties, and do their best at their various professions

and treason" so as to attain the ideal condition of "the state budget being blessed with increasing surpluses, the citizens living in leisurely holds undisturbed, and the country spontaneously achieving universal peace." For this purpose, they either promulgated various strict and cruel laws, rewarded honesty, and eliminated the corrupt, so that treachery would be precluded and workshies would be rectified, or else they would formulate various rules and systems to exalt the good and punish the evil, in the hope of inspiring the beneficial and uprooting the harmful. But the results of their efforts were often less than expected. This should not simply be blamed on their ineptitude but should be explored from the standpoint of the shortcomings and maladies of such feudal bureaucracy in order to find its causes. In reality, the corruption of civil government was the sure product and tumor of feudal autocracy; it was an incurable chronic ailment and a social, historical phenomenon of the feudal system itself that could never be uprooted. The history of the early Qing Dynasty has provided us with a lively example of this.

1

After they crossed the border and entered China proper, rulers of the early Qing Dynasty, taking into consideration the fact that civil government corruption was one of the reasons for the preceding Ming Dynasty's passing into oblivion, did a great deal of thinking about rectifying the civil government, obviously for the purpose of consolidating their own rule. Emperor Shunzhi said: "Officials of the Ming period usurped eminence, coveted goods, fostered cronies, and resorted to mutual sparring; they took deception and hoodwinking as natural, and treachery and doubledealing as gainful.... In the employment of personnel and the running of the administration, measures were turned upside down in great confusion, so that bandits rose in the country and the people drifted away" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 18). He regarded this as something to be "profoundly warned against." Several dozen years later, Emperor Kangxi still remembered this without fail, and likewise he took it as a warning while he attempted his own approach to advancement and governance. He said: "Insofar as the evils of slander, misrepresentation, envy, and jealousy are concerned, all dynasties have had their share, but they were especially excruciating at the end of the Ming period. Public affairs were not aside as if they were nobody's business, but no day passed without some partisans banding together to frame, spar against, or accuse others. Thus, after a due period of such cumulative evil practices, ruling authorities of the state themselves also became affected. As I read past histories, I have developed a deep hatred toward such pests who turned their back on the public and misgoverned their country" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 131). Through the disturbance and chaos at the end of the Ming Dynasty they came to the conclusion that "the safety of the common people depends on the civil government." Hence, rulers of the early Qing Dynasty formulated a series of regulations on observation, reward and punishment, and promotion and downgrading of bureaucrats, in the hope of setting forth relevant examples and achieving the goal of "total peace within the four

seen." For this reason, in certain ways the civil government of the early Qing Dynasty was relatively more honest than the end of Ming. For example, in the middle and late periods of Ming, there were about 100,000 civilian and military officials, more than 100,000 eunuchs, more than 100,000 palace guards and personnel of other special agencies or the like, plus another 100,000 or so members of the royal clan; all of these made up a gigantic, clumsy, aristocratic, bureaucratic apparatus. This situation became considerably altered in the early Qing period. As for the dark politics resulting from the usurpation of power by outside relatives and eunuchs of the royal household and from factionalist struggles, some of it (such as usurpation of power by external relatives and eunuchs of the royal household) was perhaps no longer seen, and some (such as factionalist struggles) definitely were suppressed. Therefore, an analysis of the civil government of the early Qing period, when the feudal rulers vigorously attempted their new approach to advancement and governing, has a more typical meaning in respect to our understanding of the various failings of the feudal bureaucracy.

The most fundamental symptom of feudal bureaucracy was that those who served as officials automatically took promotions in their official ranks and getting rich as their duty, and thereby they "remained oblivious of their public responsibilities." This was also a stubborn disease of the big and small bureaucrats of the early Qing period. Once their ambition for high office and generous remuneration was satisfied, it became a case wherein "from the grand secretary downward and any official with a specified duty upward, none diligently attended to their offices, but all knew only how to get out earlier so as to enjoy some extra leisure and private convenience" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 133). Since their minds were not on their daily affairs, they adopted a perfunctory attitude toward their responsibilities, all the while keeping an eye on ways and means to nurture their dignity and superiority and to enliven their status as magistrates and overlords. Very few of them would volunteer to shoulder any responsibility, while all of them took nonchalant attitudes and behavior as the natural approach. Hence, "great officials passed the buck at random, while small officials imitated them and played a waiting game" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 64). They passed the buck to one another, while those within waited for those outside, thus turning such practices into a habit. There was no efficiency to speak of....

III

Although an attempt was made in the early Qing Dynasty to rectify civilian government, the chronic disease of feudal bureaucracy remained the same, and its various failings were not and could not be precluded. The ultimate cause of this, of course, was determined by the nature of the exploitive class. In the case of the feudal state as an instance of class oppression, its fundamental function was nothing more than the exploitation and

oppression of the vast ranks of the people and the maintenance of the rule of the landlord class over the peasants. In such a feudal bureaucratic regime made up of political representatives of the landlord class, its failings in the final analysis were nothing more than the concentrated reflection of the corrupt, middleheaded, avaricious class nature of the landlord class itself. However, the feudal political system was also an important contributing cause of these failings.

Autocracy was the political system of our long period of feudal society, and it became more and more reinforced in later days. Under the feudal autocratic system, officials of the various levels were all appointed. Great officials were directly employed by the emperor, and lower level officials were appointed by the Board of Civil Service. Control of the various powers of the feudal state was in the hands of none other than such officials, installed one layer after another by appointment from above, who turned it into a bureaucratic system prescribed according to strict gradation of ranks, and who thus made up a pyramidal bureaucratic apparatus, with the one standing at the apex of the pyramid being the emperor himself as ruler of the whole country. The emperor not only "made decisions alone on matters of state" in exercising all major powers of the state but, with regard to his officials and subjects, also wielded incontestable authority over their lives and their possessions. Hence, feudal autocracy was both reflected in the graded powers conferred from above and demonstrated ultimately in the form of the ruler's absolute authority. This feudal autocratic system, reflected in the ruler's absolute authority, naturally gave rise to the concept of "I as the state," so that the "family state" also became the political principle of the time. As a result, the relationship between ruler and ruled became equivalent to the relationship between "master" and "slave." In accordance with such a realistic relationship, "being loyal to the ruler" thus came to be propagated by thinkers of the landlord class as an "axiom" based on "heavenly principles."

The bureaucratic system of feudal autocracy gave rise to problems in the following two facets:

First, the existence of the ruler's absolute authority and the feudal "master-slave" relationship inevitably made it necessary for big and small subjects and workers to do things only in accordance with "His Majesty's will." In officialdom, the practice, by inference, was for everyone to do things by watching the facial expression of his superior, in accordance with the relevant powers of rank they were entitled to exercise respectively. Being responsible to the superior for everything and doing everything one could to please the superior thus became the supreme principle upheld without fail by the bureaucrats. An official at any given level would answer in the affirmative readily in the face of his superior and bow and pay respect to him in the meantime. "Prostrate often, speak little" thus became the secret of serving as an official at the time. Under this system, where officials exercised their

powers according to their hierarchical rank, everything was done according to established rules and everybody "took his ancestors' laws" as his ultimate basis. Nobody should dare to take any responsibility upon himself in any venture or resort to renovation and creativity. This therefore also became the orthodox course to follow in feudal officialdom. For this reason, low administrative efficiency was inevitably a great characteristic of bureaucratic politics.

The prevailing of graded powers in the feudal autocracy made it inevitable that the promotion or downgrading, the glory or shame, of subordinate officials depended entirely on their superiors, and not on the merits or demerits of individual officials themselves. In order to butter up their superiors, they would thus "devote only 30 percent of their energy to actual work, and 70 percent to the placating of their superiors. Consequently, even though welcoming or seeing a superior off might ordinarily seem trivial matters, some would somehow be abused because of negligence in this regard. Even though the paying of pure courtesy calls was repeatedly proscribed, some would be exiled far away because of the gradual distance that resulted due to the absence of such calls. The presentation of gifts, too, was strictly warned against, but good or bad appraisals of official performances were somehow determined sometimes according to how often or how rarely the parties involved made such presentations and such attendant strivings. The energy of an otherwise busy official would thus hardly have enough ingenuity to plug up possible loopholes in his superior's direction, so how was he to have any leisure left to devote to his administrative duties?" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 118). For the sake of protecting his salary and his job, he would hardly have enough time to fawn to his superior, so how was he to have any thought left to look after his duties? Between bureaucrats, the relationship of a subordinate toward his superior was maintained through nothing more than such welcoming and seeing-off activities, such courtesy calls, and such presentations of gifts. Meanwhile, superior officials also needed the support of some people so that coordinated actions could be taken at their respective levels; in "their attempts to garner goods and bribes and to earn private benefits," they too also needed lateral assistance from their peers. As a result, the ones above and the ones below, plus those in equivalent positions, all came to help one another and strike up pertinent relations with one another, so that they could accommodate the intimate, protect the sensitive, and form a small group on the basis of a community of interests. This was called fraternization (factionalism). They "all help and work through their respective partisans in order to deceive their superiors" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 194). Or they "plot against each other, fight those who differ and patronize those who agree, revenge private grievances against each other, and drag in others in extended chains of vengeance. In some cases, they themselves would harbor a certain grudge against someone but would ask others to avenge it for them, and stay in the background as the

instigators; in other cases, they would hint at what they wanted to say but would refrain from directly pointing out the matter in question, thereby entrapping people in their intrigues." Consequently, in the ups and downs of officialdom, such a predilection to resorting to political machinations in order to form or dismantle alliances between friends and foes, and thereby bring factionalism into play and gain advantages deviously, actually became a guarantee for the security and growth of those bureaucrats. An isolated bureaucrat was bound to be shortlived in the rough going of officialdom. In the realistic political life of the time, there were precisely such groups of partisans banding together to "frame, spar against, or accuse" each other, and "even after some suffered dismissals and became pigeonholed, others would continue to find fault with them, have their clansmen implicated, or wreak havoc on their family fortunes and their very lives" (ibid., Vol 151). All of the foregoing [practices] made the existence of factional fights co-terminous with the prevalence of feudal bureaucratic politics. In order to prove the rationality of the existence of such a relationship, some in history maintained through blatant words that "a gentleman makes friends but does not recruit partisans." Even under the political pressure of the Qing rulers, who energetically cracked down on factionalists, not only "have the Han banded together to form parties and cliques since the days of antiquity," but, "those of Manchuria, who have always been simplistic, sincere, loyal, and genuine, people of the various Banners as we see them today, are also banding together to form parties" (ibid., Vol 194). And there were even those who openly advocated the organization of parties. For example, Yin Jiachuan, secretary of the Grand Court of Appeals, in the Qianlong period, was of the opinion that "when the theory of factionalism became dominant, the instruction of fathers and teachers was weakened; how can even the ruler enjoy his superior position all by himself?" ("Files on Literary Litigations of the Qing Period," Vol 6). Factionalism was the tumor of feudal bureaucratic politics. It was based on the common status of disciples, former subordinates, participants in imperial civil service examinations of the same year, natives of the same locality, and members of the same class. It was the shelter under which all sorts of ill practices prevailed--practices such as people resorting to corruption and bribery, sparring at and plotting against one another, and fawning and seeking favors from those above.

Second, in accordance with the ruler's absolute authority under autocracy, and the "master-slave" relationship between ruler and ruled in the "family" state, there needed to be, from the emperor's point of view, officials who were docile and obedient and loyal to the ruling house under the given family name; hence "rule by man" was stressed. It was argued that "there can be only man who rules, but no law can do so by itself," and "to have good government therefore depends basically on having good men." Kangxi said: "It is hard to know people, but it is even harder to use them. The way to govern lies precisely in this. I could not help devoting my whole mind to it, even if I wanted to" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 41). As for the so-called "having

good men," even though many high-sounding criteria were postulated, such as "be loyal and devote yourselves to the public well-being," "people with a selfless and forthright mind," etc., since the point of departure was that "there can be only man who rules, but no law can do so by itself," the use or nonuse and the promotion or downgrading of officials inevitably depended on the emperor's and the superior's likes and dislikes. Once he had ingratiated himself and thus fallen into favor of the emperor or the superior, an official would be emboldened to do whatever he pleased, in disregard of the law or lesser authority in general. Therefore, it became almost routine through history for confidants and favorites of the powerful and the noble to commit all sorts of evil deeds. Using people on the basis of affinity thus also became a criterion for "personnel administration" under feudal bureaucracy. The usurpation of power by external relatives and eunuchs of the royal household originated precisely from this, and the fact that the Qing House put great powers into the hands of Manchu nobles was no exception. The results of officials being used or not used and promoted or downgraded on the basis of the emperor's or the superior's likes and dislikes, and the use of people on the basis of affinity, were just as some pointed out: "The superior would not bother to look into the affairs of the civil government at all. He did what he liked or disliked entirely according to his personal whims. Consequently, his recommendations became less than fair, and officials' appraisals were thrown into confusion" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shizhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 106). Some also daringly pointed out: "today's ills lie with the Six Boards; the ills of the Six Boards rest primarily with the presidents of these boards; the ills of these presidents lie in their passing the buck; the ills of their passing the buck rest in the emperor's failure to select the right people" (ibid., Vol 89). "Failure to select the right people" led to the random use of officials and to all the failings of the bureaucratic system. For this reason, even though Kangxi repeatedly issued strict orders to officials of various levels that "from now on, you must forgo personal activities and impeach and rectify cases of wrongdoing and incompetence on the basis of facts so as to conform to my intention to use good people and achieve governance" ("Authentic Records of Emperor Shengzhu of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 27), these orders turned out to be nothing more than formalistic papers.

To sum up, the political system of feudal autocracy was also a cause of all sorts of chronic diseases in bureaucratic politics. To wish to uproot such diverse ill practices in bureaucratic politics under the prevailing feudal autocracy was not unlike trying to negotiate with the tiger for his hide. "To lover Liu, the fairy-imposed mountain was already far, but now [the goal] is found to be separated from him by even more mountains." Rulers of the early Qing Dynasty continuously groaned about the state of bureaucratic politics under them; This was a reflection precisely of such feelings of helplessness on their part.

(Regarding the authors of this article: Wang Sizhi was born in 1929; he is now a member of the research staff at the Qing History Research Institute at the China People's University, and the author of "A Brief Discourse on the Literary Litigations of the Qing Period" and similar works. Jin Chengji was born in 1936; he is now a member of the research staff at the Qing History Research Institute at the China People's University, and the author of "On the Ultimate Emperor" and works of the like.)

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PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI PAPER DISCUSSES ROLES OF EMPERORS' IN-LAWS, EUNUCHS

HK061230 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 22 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Sha Lu [3097 6424]: "Emperors, Their In-laws and Eunuchs--My Feelings After Reading 'Biography of Liang Ji' in 'Annals of the Later Han'"]

[Text] There were 14 emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty. The first two, that was, Emperors Guangwu and Ming, lived more than 40 years. Emperor Xian, the last, was 39 when he abdicated. He died a natural death. The other emperors died before reaching middle age. A table for easy reference follows:

<u>Name of emperor</u>	<u>Age when mounting the throne</u>	<u>Duration of reign</u>	<u>Age at time of death</u>
Zhang	19	14 years	33
He	10	17 years	27
Shang	100 days	9 months	1
An	13	19 years	32
Shao	Unknown	8 months	Unknown
Shun	11	19 years	30
Chong	2	5 months	3
Zhi	8	7 months	9
Huan	15	21 years	36
Ling	12	22 years	34
Fei	17	5 months	17
Xian	9	30 years	39 (abdication)

Why was it that most of the emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty mounted the throne when they were very young and died before they were of age? Was it because there only were young successors? Was it because the lives of the emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty were extraordinarily short? No. It was because the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs held dictatorial power. To directly manipulate the government, the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs intentionally put the young and innocent emperors to the throne. They would kill the emperors by both open and secret tactics

when the emperors grew up and became disobedient. The in-laws played a major role in this regard. Take Liang Ji for example. In the 6th year of the Yonghe period (141 A.D.), he succeeded his father Liang Shang as minister of war when the latter died. Two years later, Emperor Shun died at the age of 30 when he was capable of great achievements. Historical records did not say that he was murdered by Liang Ji. However, there was something fishy about it. After that, Liang Ji insisted on enthroning 2-year-old Emperor Chong, who died 5 months later. Then, Liang Ji again insisted on enthroning 8-year-old Emperor Zhi, who was poisoned 7 months later for calling Liang Ji a "domineering general." Liang Ji put two boys to the throne, who died in less than a year. Who was the third emperor enthroned by him? When Emperor Chong died, Army Chief Li Gu and other officials "recommended Liu Suan, who was prince of Qinghe, to the throne because he was of age and was known for his moral character." Their recommendation was unsuccessful because of Liang Ji's objection. This time, Li Gu again recommended Liu Suan to the throne, but Liang Ji wanted to enthrone 15-year-old Liu Zhi, who was marquis of Liwu and was to marry his younger sister. Liang Ji's intention was self-evident. What Senior Chamberlain Cao Teng said revealed the heart of the matter. One night, Cao Teng called on Liang Ji and told him: "You are the emperor's in-law and are in charge of all important government affairs. You have to deal with so many people. Inevitably, you may have offended some of them. The prince of Qinghe is strict and impartial. A misfortune will befall you if he mounts the throne. It is better to enthrone the marquis of Liwu so that you can keep your eminent position." ("Biography of Li Gu" in the "Annals of the Later Han") Cao Teng pointed out the reason why Liang Ji and the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs wanted to put little boys to the throne and did not like emperors who were of age. Fan Hua, a historian, made a comment on the dictatorial power held by the emperors' in-laws during the Eastern Han dynasty: They "liked boys to be emperors so that they could remain at their posts." He hit the mark with this comment.

In the feudal society, the emperor is the sole agent of the landlord class and represented order in the midst of disorder. Proceeding from the interests of their class, the landlords hoped that the emperor was young, vigorous, wise and capable because this was advantageous to the maintenance of the feudal rule and social order. However, the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs held dictatorial power by weakening imperial power. Weakening of imperial power meant that the feudal rule and social order were in chaos. For this reason, feudal historians generally took the stand of condemning the dictatorial power held by the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs and speaking in favor of imperial power. They saw that the dictatorial power held by the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs was an opposite to the strengthening of imperial power. Their writings therefore showed irrepressible "indignation," which influenced many people through the ages.

Here, a question provides food for thought. Was the dictatorial power held by emperors' in-laws and eunuchs just an opposite to imperial power? In my opinion, we should not let our understanding remain unchanged at this stage. Of course, we should see the opposition between the emperors on one side and their in-laws and eunuchs on the other side. What is more important, we should see the unity of the two sides.

The emperors' in-laws and eunuchs were dependent on imperial power like two melons growing on the same vine. Without imperial power, there was no room for the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs to take roots. Therefore, on the one hand, the emperors' in-laws and eunuchs based their dictatorial power on the weakening of imperial power; on the other hand, they based their existence on imperial power. The former base concerned the question of strength and the latter concerned the question of existence. For this reason, the latter is fundamental.

Liang Ji was the most influential of the emperors' in-laws during the Eastern Han dynasty. He dominated the government for more than 20 years. "He held supreme power. His orders were obeyed throughout the country." "All other officials held him in awe and none dared to disobey him." Even the emperor "showed the highest respect for him and dared not meddle in his work." Did Liang Ji hold sway because he was a man of great ability? In fact, he was neither a capable nor an honorable man. He was a profligate son of the rich. A historical book carried this passage on him: "He had hunched shoulders, wolfish eyes and a glib tongue. A crafty man and a relative of the imperial family, he indulged in pleasure-seeking and drinking when he was young. He was good in archery, chess games, gambling, and playing the shuttlecock. He was also interested in hunting and cockfighting." He was an out-and-out hooligan. What did Liang Ji who was so ugly and incapable rely on to seize power of the Eastern Han dynasty? His only means was that he was the emperor's in-law.

Liang Tong, Liang Ji's great grandfather, rendered outstanding service in founding the Eastern Han dynasty. He became an in-law of the imperial family. So, the Liang family was influential during the Eastern Han dynasty. Liu Xiu, the emperor, married his eldest daughter, Princess Wuyin, to Liang Tong's son, Liang Song, and "had boundless confidence in him." Liang Song's niece was chosen by Emperor Zhang to be a concubine and gave birth to a son who later became Emperor He. She was honored with the title "Empress Dowager Konghual" after Empress Dowager Dou died. Thereafter, the Liang family won the emperors' favor and trust and became the most influential of the imperial in-laws. The daughter of Liang Shang, Liang Song's nephew, became empress in the first year of the Yangjia period during the reign of Emperor Shun (132 A.D.). Historian Fan Hua said: "Winning the emperor's favor was the essential way to seize power. When a woman won the emperor's favor, whatever she did, she had his blessing. When she was out of the emperor's favor, whatever she did to please him, he would find her ugly. So, when winning the

emperor's favor, she had more virtues than the whole world could hold. But, once she was out of his favor, she could find no shelter for herself." What an important access to the emperor the empress meant! Liang Shang grasped this access, became the minister of war and held sway. After his death, his son Liang Ji, who was the empress' elder brother, succeeded as minister of war and monopolized everything. In the feudal society, marital relations meant political relations. To monopolize the government, the Liang family monopolized the right to choose the empress and insured that the empresses came exclusively from the Liang family. Once it lost this right, it would "find no shelter for itself." In a few words, the empress served the lifeline to the emperor's in-laws. This line was important because one end was linked with the emperor. Otherwise, it would have no social value to the emperor's in-laws.

The emperor was separated from the outside world by his in-laws in order that they might hold dictatorial power. Therefore, he could only contact three kinds of people: the first were the women for him to dally with; the second were his in-laws who were in power; the third were the eunuchs who waited on him. If he did not want to be treated as a puppet, the eunuchs were the only people from whom he could seek help. Almost all emperors during the Eastern Han dynasty used the eunuchs to get rid of the dictatorial power of their in-laws. For example, eunuch Zheng Zhong killed the emperor's in-law Yan Xian; eunuch Shan Chao and others killed the emperor's in-law Liang Ji. The "Biographies of Eunuchs" in the "Annals of the Later Han" carried a detailed account of how the eunuchs killed Liang Ji. This was how it happened: Emperor Huan could not bear the pressure which Liang Ji and the empress applied on him. He "resented this" and wanted very much to remove the Liang family's influence. However, he "was afraid that the secret would be divulged, so he did not make an attempt." In the second year of the Yanxi period (159 A.D.), Empress Liang died. He thought that the time was ripe. So, boosting his courage, he summoned eunuch Tang Heng alone, had a secret talk with him in the washroom and bade him time and again to keep the secret. An emperor had to hide in his washroom to talk with his eunuch. What a pity! This showed that the only people the emperor could use were the eunuchs around him. However, how could an emperor who got help from the eunuchs escape the destiny of being manipulated by the eunuchs? After Liang Ji had been killed, Emperor Huan was forced to grant the titles of marquis to Shan Chao and four other eunuchs. Power was shifted from Liang Ji's hands to the hands of Shan Chao and other eunuchs. Thereupon, the dictatorial power of the emperor's in-laws was replaced by the dictatorial power of the eunuchs.

History of the Eastern Han dynasty showed that the dictatorial power of eunuchs was a product of the emperor's use of eunuchs to get rid of the dictatorial power of his in-laws and that the dictatorial power of the emperor's in-laws would give rise to the dictatorial power of eunuchs and these two powers prevailed alternately. In the final analysis, the

emperor, the object of support, fell victim to either of these two powers. These two powers "were both opposite and complementary to each other." We shall be confused by the historical phenomena if we only see that "they are opposite to each other" and do not see that "they are complementary to each other." This should be the historical conclusion: To exterminate the dictatorial powers of the eunuchs and the emperors' in-laws, it was necessary to get rid of the emperors and the feudal autocracy on which they based their existence.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'CHENG MING' ARTICLE DETAILS SITUATION IN SHANGHAI

18K060838 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 36, 1 Oct 80 pp 54-57

[Article by Chin Kui: "Raise the Heavy Curtain Over Shanghai"]

[Excerpts] After Su Zhenhua, Ni Zhiu and Peng Chong entered Shanghai, they did not eliminate the pernicious influence of the four pests, implement the principles of the Central Committee and carry out policies. The Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee took an ambiguous attitude toward the discussion on the criterion of truth. Peng Chong cannot be considered a pragmatist. In Autumn 1977, Shanghai executed a Zhang Zhixin-type young man—Wang Shengeng, a student in the school of physics of Huadong Normal University.

While watching the spectacular "double program" consisting of the NPC and the CPPCC in Beijing, I happened to meet an elder whom I have always respected. He is not a controversial person nor a sycophant. He was appointed as a member of the CPPCC because of his position and prestige as a scientist.

He was very happy and said: "Your magazine is very superficial when talking about the situation in Shanghai. You failed to see the great secret of this abysmal sea."

I asked hastily which reports he was talking about. He smiled and said: "You compared Peng Chong to Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li and called him a pragmatist. That is 'missing the larger picture.'"

"Then, can you tell me about the real situation in Shanghai?"

He said: "It is a long story. I am not used to talking about politics and there are things that I cannot explain, but I have a good friend. He is also an 'outsider' but he has always paid close attention to inside stories. Maybe you can go to Shanghai and interview him. He will give you the details."

The next day, I took a Boeing 707 to Shanghai. After unpacking, I immediately hired a car and went to the Jiangwan district. With the address given by my scientist friend and after great efforts, I found Mr C.

He is a political commentator who had been famous decades ago. In the past 20 years or so, he seemed to have become "mellowed" and dissociated himself from the world.

I paid my respects to Mr C and without much ado, went straight to my question. I asked him to solve the puzzle about the "larger picture."

"The 'spring thunder' in October 1976 smashed the 'gang of four' and Ma, Xu and Wang in Shanghai. The people of Shanghai were so pleased and had hoped that order would be restored. However, the new leadership headed by the 'troika' (Su Zhenhua, Ni Zhifu and Peng Chong) has been overcautious, stressing that there must be stability and not upheaval. What kind of 'stability'? Only 4 of the 'gang of four's' 3 chieftains, 8 'lord protectors' and 13 hoodlums in Shanghai who had committed numerous serious crimes were arrested. Even the villainous adviser of the villainous adviser Zhang Chunqiao, Xu Jingxian and Zhu Yongjia, the 'No 1 pen' in the 'gang of four's' principal writing group remain at large. They allegedly made good confessions. As to the close associates and main supporters of the gang which were spread out all over the country, they were basically untouched. Supposedly, they need only 'tell the whole truth.' Actually, what happened was they just put on a show. Some did not tell the whole truth and some did not even confess. They are still occupying their positions, controlling their territories, in charge of important state affairs and personnel departments and persecuting the masses and those who dare to complain.

"The discussion on 'practice as the sole criterion of truth' was a key battle in bringing order out of chaos and reversing the course of history. Shanghai was not only late in coming out with its stand and hesitant in voicing out its view, Che Wenyi, the then director of the Propaganda Department, also repeatedly prohibited discussion on this subject. It was only after the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee, when the trend had become very clear that 'Che' was discarded to protect the 'shuai' [referring to the pieces in Chinese chess] 'that wheels of the Che were made to roll.'

"Some people who are not acquainted with the truth of the matter regard Peng Chong as a pragmatist. He himself also seems to regard himself as such. It is not surprising that the venerable D (referring to the scientist) said you 'have missed the larger picture.' Let me ask you: Judging from his actions, what does he have in common with Zhao Ziyang and the others?"

I asked: "It is not true that Shanghai's economy was not plunged into chaos and has recovered quite rapidly?"

Mr C took a sip of tea and then smirking, he said: "They do not deserve the credit. The industrial base of Shanghai has always been good and its financial income constitute one-eighth of total national revenue income. Under the control of the 'gang of four,' the policy was 'create chaos in the whole country but maintain stability in Shanghai.' Therefore, in this respect, things continued on their normal course in Shanghai and there was really no chaos. So, the 'troika' used this as their capital to show off their achievement to the central authorities and to show that their policy of 'three notes' (not eliminating the pernicious influence of the gang, not implementing party principles and not carrying out policies) is a 'secret formula.'

"They are so lenient toward the 'gang of four' and their remnant followers yet so ferocious toward young people who dare to pursue and uphold truth and ordered the execution of one such young man. To use the word of the 'gang of four': Is this not monstrous absurdity!"

I was surprised and asked: "Was there such a thing?"

Mr C answered without any hesitation: "Yes! This news has been secretly spreading among the people of Shanghai!"

"Please, Venerable Sir, tell me the details."

"I do not know the full details of the story. According to my friend, what happened was:

"There was a student in the school of physics of the Huadong Normal University who was very good in his studies. He was dragged out to be criticized and struggled against by the workers' propaganda team as an example of 'white and expert.' They prohibited him from reading books on physics and ordered him to read only works on Marxism-Leninism.

"This student had a certain doggedness and took everything seriously. He thought that if they went on to study Marxism-Leninism well, then I will do that and have a look at what Marxism-Leninism has to offer. From then on, he studied hard day and night and read through almost all works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He also almost memorized the whole of 'Capital' and carefully read the works of Mao Zedong. He compared Mao's work with his predecessors' and with his own words and deeds during his old age. The conclusion he arrived at was: Chairman Mao's words and deeds during his old age has nothing in common with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In a group study session, he quietly presented this view. Naturally, this immediately entailed great disaster. The lackeys of the 'gang of four' and the workers' propaganda team accused him of 'launching a vicious attack' and being an active counterrevolutionary.

He refused to admit this 'crime' and was therefore thrown into prison. After the smashing of the 'gang of four,' he was released as a result of the 'leniency' of the new leadership. But still, he was considered to have reactionary viewpoints and was isolated for interrogation. One day, he wrote a letter to his fiancée saying that he did not want to hide his views and had written them down in detail for her to see as soon as it was opportune. He also declared solemnly that: The marriage of two individuals has to have a common ideological basis. If she agreed to his views, they could prepare to get married after he obtained his freedom, if not, she was requested to look for another partner in order not to waste their time.

"This letter fell into the hands of the powerholders. That very night, several husky men broke into his room. He immediately tore the draft of his essay into small pieces and intended to swallow them. The intruders choked him and forced him to spit them out. However, the small bits of paper could not be put together again. They then beat him up and ordered him to rewrite the piece. He wrote his views down in detail. Aside from the point I mentioned a while ago, he also held that Chairman Mao despised and hated intellectuals. This was first manifested during the antirightist campaign in 1957 wherein he tried to punish one to serve as a warning to a hundred and suppressed a large number of intellectuals. This made other intellectuals afraid to think independently and 'to say careless things and make careless moves.' At that time, Chairman Mao noticed that there were also people in the party who were disobedient and who disagreed with his method. He then persecuted Peng Dehuai and launched the antirightist campaign. After he succeeded he made further step-by-step preparations and finally, launched the Great Cultural Revolution.

"He also said that the proletariat ought to be open and aboveboard and ought not to engage in conspiracies. As to political trickery, that was a political degeneration.

"Naturally, the powerholders at the Normal University at that time thought that these views constituted unpardonable heresy. They immediately ordered the arrest of this student and he was thrown back into prison. This case was reported to the municipal CCP committee which was headed by the 'troika.' The municipal CCP committee reported to the central authorities. It was alleged that Wang Dongxing, who was then in charge of personnel, judged this to be a serious case of counterrevolution and 'ordered' the execution of the offender. Thus, this firm and uncompromising young man lost his life!"

I immediately asked for the name of the young man.

"The professor who told me the story spoke with a Ningbo accent. I did not hear clearly. The name is Wang Shengeng or maybe Wang Xinggang."

"When did this happen?"

"Autumn of 1977."

"That is shocking! Zhang Zhixin was persecuted to death by the 'gang of four' and their diehard followers in Liaoning. How could this lawless thing happen nearly 1 year after the smashing of the 'gang of four'!"

Mr C said coldly: "What is so strange about that? Later, they stubbornly opposed and resisted the discussion on practice as the sole criterion of truth. Therefore, it is not surprising if at that time, they thought that this violated the forbidden zone of the god and--that his case demonstrated a counterrevolutionary act punishable by death."

Mr C also sighed and said: "At least with regard to ideological framework, three leadership groups belong to one family. They are against stability and unity and mobilizing all forces that can be mobilized to build the four modernizations. They hate the so-called pragmatists. The past few years have been eventful in Shanghai. At one instance, the tag of 'son of the general' was put on a municipal CCP committee member who did not toe their line. At another, various rumors about His Excellency, Mr Deng, were cooked up. This could not be accidental."

I brought up the subject of Wang Shengeng (or Wang Xinggang) again. I asked him what has happened to this case.

Mr C said: "After the fifth plenary session, the Central Committee hastened the pace of rehabilitating cases of miscarriage of justice. This case was considered a case of injustice and was rehabilitated. The present party committee of the Normal University seems to be daring and resolute. It firmly believes that Wang's case was unjustly handled and has brought the complete files of this case to the Central Committee to ask for full rehabilitation.

"Since Chen Guodong assumed the post of first secretary of the Shanghai party committee, he seems to have resolved to effect a thorough overhaul in Shanghai. Wang Daohan, a veteran cadre who really knows about industry has been appointed as the third secretary. I have heard that the second secretary is Hu Lijiao (present second secretary of Henan) who used to be the director of the organizational department of the South China Bureau. From these indications, I think an organizational house cleaning is on the way.

"Of the remnant followers of the 'gang of four,' 18 have been arrested, including Xu Jingxian and Zhu Yongjia. Recently, three cases were exposed in Shanghai. First, the Baoshan Iron and Steel Works used construction capital to buy luxurious cars. Second, warehouses have allowed a large quantity of wool to be used as raw material to pile up and rot. Third, an expert on refrigeration left for the United States

in disgust because the units concerned have refused to follow orders from the central authorities to employ him. All this, taken alongside the central authorities' repeated exposes on Dazhai, the Bohai No 2 incident and the dismissal of Minister of Petroleum Industry Song Zhenming, indicates that the Central Committee is very serious about a thoroughgoing house cleaning in Shanghai. However, we will also have to wait and see how the case of Wang Shengeng (Wang Xinggang) will be handled."

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PARTY AND STATE

'LIAONING RIBAO' URGES REFORMATION OF INSTITUTIONS

SK041200 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT
3 Oct 80

[Excerpts from LIAONING RIBAO 4 October commentator's article: "Popularize the Vigorous Mood of Reformation on All Fronts"]

[Excerpts] The article states: Reformation is a top priority task of crucial importance in our efforts to achieve the four modernizations. Our task is clear: positively and systematically carrying out reformations in all fields--from the economy and politics to ideology and culture--by constantly reviewing past experiences, conducting intensive research and investigations and summing up correct ideas.

Is not the socialist system incomparably superior? Why should we bother to carry out reformations? To such a question we should answer: When we refer to the superiority of socialist system, we are referring to the fundamental system of socialism. This superiority can only be manifested through various specific institutions. Among the institutions currently in effect, many were modeled on foreign methods. Some were handed down from the revolutionary war period in which the historical conditions were exceptional. Moreover, some distinct feudal remnants remain in our current institutions. Most important of all, because of the left-leaning ideology over the past 20 years, we were occupied by class struggle and ignored institutional reforms. This led to great losses. The superiority of the socialist system was restrained by unreasonable economic management systems and the systems of state leadership. This is one of the important reasons our country's productive forces developed so slowly and the people's livelihood failed to improve for so many years.

Some people are concerned that reforming institutions will hamper the upholding of the four basic principles. These worries are totally unfounded; for reforming the malpractices in the institutions meets the requirements for upholding the four basic principles. Nothing is inconsistent between reform and upholding, and it is groundless to put the former in contention with the latter. Upholding the four basic

principles while evading the reform of current malpractices can be nothing but a manifestation of ossified or semiossified thinking--a sham upholding. Nevertheless, some people argue that since institutions are formulated and practiced by men, we had first better solve the problem in man's ideology and work style. Such an idea is one-sided and incorrect. It admits man's influence over institutions but ignores the limits institutions impose on men. Experience has shown that the various mistakes we made in the past were admittedly related to the work style of some leaders, but the more crucial factors in these mistakes lay in the shortcomings of organizational and working systems. A good institution serves to restrain evildoers from running amuck, while a bad institution frustrates good people or even drives them to become evildoers. We are not saying that individuals are free from responsibilities; what we are saying is that problems in the institutions have a more fundamental and long-standing effect on the overall situation. If we do not firmly reform the malpractices in the institutions, our past mistakes will reappear. The problems in the institutions affect the destiny of the party and the country. We must not treat them lightly.

The article concludes: No reforms have enjoyed smooth sailing. All kinds of outmoded conventions, bad customs and traditional and conservative ideas could become obstacles to reformation. Ideological struggles are inevitable. They reflect the struggle between the advanced and backward tendencies in the people. Our Communist Party members are vanguards who are supposed to be determined in carrying out and promoting reformations through concrete actions. The conditions and the times are now ripe for us to embark on the task of reforming and perfecting the systems of the party and state leadership and bringing them in line with the requirements of the four modernizations. We are confident that we can achieve our goals if we firmly follow the party's leadership, rely firmly on the masses and advance resolutely and steadily.

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PARTY AND STATE

JILIN ISSUES CIRCULAR ON CHECKING LAVISH ENTERTAINMENT

SK061128 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Excerpt:] According to a JILIN RIBAO report, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee issued a circular on 12 September to the party organizations at all levels throughout the province on the case of (Zhong Changshan), who indulged in lavish wining and dining.

Comrade (Zhong Changshan), deputy chief of a production section under the provincial Medicines Administrative Bureau, was dismissed from his post for ignoring party discipline and indulging in lavish wining and dining when he led an inspection group to check various pharmaceutical factories in the Changchun district.

While inspecting five county pharmaceutical factories and three factories in the urban areas in Changchun Municipality, (Zhong Changshan) spent more than 700 yuan of public funds in wining and dining. He also received some 90 yuan worth of gifts, including cups, cases of tea and medicine.

On the morning of 22 May, (Zhong Changshan) led a 17-person inspection group to check the (Hongyu) Pharmaceutical Factory in Changchun Municipality. (Wang Zhizhong), responsible person of the factory and deputy chief of the Jilin Provincial Medicine Company, arbitrarily decided to give the inspection group a warm reception. They ate a ten-course dinner, drank three bottles of Maotai and smoked five packs of China filter cigarettes, spending some 80 yuan in all. In order to account for the money, (Wang Zhizhong) violated the financial and economic disciplines. He made a false report on the sale of four cases of medicine and did not keep proper accounts.

In order to respect the party discipline, rehabilitate the reputation of the company and educate the offenders, departments concerned decided to dismiss Comrade (Zhong Changshan) from his post as deputy chief of the production section under the provincial Medicines Administrative Bureau in line with the proposal of the provincial CCP committee's Discipline Inspection Commission. The provincial Medicines Administrative Bureau

had already ordered (Wang Zhizhong) to stop working and to examine and give an account of his mistakes. His case will be handled after further investigations. He will be given appropriate punishment. It also decided that all comrades who had participated in lavish wining and dining should compensate in full with money or grain coupons according to the local regulations and standards. Those who incited people to violate disciplines should be held responsible. All gifts received by the inspection group should be returned to the owner without exception.

In this connection, the JILIN RIBAO published a short commentary today: "Those Who Deliberately Break the Laws Should Be Severely Punished."

The short commentary states: It is actually not a hard job for Communist Party members and state cadres to give up lavish wining and dining and to forget about giving banquets and sending gifts. However, this unhealthy trend has not been thoroughly checked even after the issuance of the guiding principles. Some people continue to disregard the guidelines. Their tricks are more heinous than before. The main reason for this is that they ignored the party disciplines and acted recklessly on the pretext of serving the public. Furthermore, some leading comrades failed to make a decision to check this unhealthy trend and were too lenient in handling these cases. They even helped offenders to shirk their responsibilities. This is one of the keys to the emergence of such offenders.

Our party has decided to rectify the party work style. This aim will certainly be fulfilled. Anyone who ignores the repeated orders and instructions of the party and deliberately breaks and defies the law is making a mistake. (Zhong Changshan) is an example.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL CCP COMMITTEE CONGRATULATES RESTORATION OF XINGAN LEAGUE

SK050558 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Oct 80

[Text] The Nei Monggol Regional CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the regional People's Congress and the regional People's Government recently sent a message to the Xingan League CCP Committee and the Xingan League administrative office warmly congratulating them on the restoration of the league's organizational system.

The message noted that the State Council's approval of the restoration of the Xingan League's organizational system is another major policy decision affecting the administrative divisions of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. With its honorable revolutionary traditions, the Xingan League made great contributions to the founding of Nei Monggol region. Since the founding of the Nei Monggol region, and particularly during the 30 years following the founding of the People's Republic of China, the cadres and masses of various nationalities in Xingan League have nurtured the revolutionary tradition, done arduous pioneering work, worked hard for the prosperity of the country and made great efforts to establish a new socialist life. Therefore, industry, agriculture, animal husbandry as well as cultural and educational undertakings have been well developed in the league, contributing to the region's development and prosperity.

In conclusion, the message called on the leaders and people at all levels in Xingan League to further criticize the ultraleft trend of thought under the accurate guidance of the party Central Committee's lines, penetratingly implement the party's policy toward nationalities, conscientiously carry out the eight-point policy on readjusting the national economy, consolidate and develop political stability and unity, emancipate minds and work arduously in unison to achieve still greater successes in various fields of work to build Nei Monggol region into a place characterized by prosperity and unity and new contributions to the four modernizations of China.

Xingan League is a vast territory with abundant natural resources situated in the eastern sector of Nei Monggol region. In the east, it

adjoins Nenjiang Prefecture of Heilongjiang Province, and in the west, it neighbors the People's Republic of Mongolia. The total length of its borders is 122.5 kilometers. In the south, it adjoins Baicheng Prefecture in Jilin Province and Jirem League in Nei Monggol region and, in the north, it neighbors the Hulun Buir League. Its total area is 59,450 square kilometers, including Horqin Youyi Qian Banner, Horqin Youyi Zhong Banner, Jalaid Banner, Tuquan County and Ulan Hot Municipality. The capital of Xingan League is located in Ulan Hot Municipality.

The main economy of Xingan League is animal husbandry. Its grasslands account for 77.3 percent of the league's total area. Therefore, it has great potential for developing animal husbandry. At present, it has some 1,888,000 head of livestock, 5 times what it had in 1979. As for the league's industry, it has grown large from nothing. Now there are iron and steel, machinery, building materials, textile, fur, meat, dairy, sugar and wine industries. Its industrial products not only supply the league, but are also marketed in other provinces and municipalities of the country. Its hand-woven carpets, [words indistinct] and paintings are welcomed on the international markets.

Xingan League is inhabited by minority nationalities, with Mongols making up the majority of its population. It has a total of 1,307,000 people, including Mongolian, Han, Man, Hui, Korean and 13 other nationalities. Among them, 444,000 are minority nationalities, accounting for 34.3 percent of the league's total population, and 424,000 are Mongols, or 32.4 percent. It is one of the places whose political, cultural and educational undertakings are relatively well developed. It has some 2,000 primary and middle schools and some 300,000 students.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' ACCUSES DENG XIAOPING OF LEAKING STATE SECRETS

OW052010 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Text] At a group meeting of the third session of the Fifth NPC, some deputies from the PLA proposed that a new set of regulations suiting the present situation be formulated to replace the "Temporary Regulations About Safeguarding State Secrets" promulgated in 1951. This is a timely proposal. No doubt, a new set of regulations in this regard will help to improve work on safeguarding state secrets and correct the situation of serious leaking of secrets because of some comrades' vague concept about keeping secrets secret.

Once a state law is promulgated, everybody in the country must abide by it and there should be no exception.

However, a certain central leader placed himself above the law, abused his power and prestige to trample on the state law and reveal vital state economic and military secrets. Not long ago, another incident of leaking top secret military information occurred, this time involving Comrade Deng Xiaoping. On the basis of the six-point agreement reached between Vice Chairman Deng and U.S. Secretary of Defense Brown, U.S. military experts wrote up a so-called analytical report on the present condition of the Chinese armed forces. Information contained in this report is supplied by organizations concerned on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's personal instruction. This information includes table of organization, deployment and technical equipment of our armed forces and the production situation of our defense industry as well as a quantity of top-secret information. At the same time, Americans also have obtained a detailed table of items of technical equipment urgently needed by our armed forces. After concocting the so-called analytical report on the basis of these top secret documents, the Americans solemnly assured Vice Chairman Deng that they would never diverge the contents of this report. American leaders never respect other countries' sovereignty and national dignity. How can they be expected to respect our military secrets?

Lately, President Carter and Republican presidential candidate Reagan in their election campaign make a vote-getting point out of how to

handle the U.S. relations with China and Taiwan. In their campaign activities that are not without ill intentions, Americans have revealed the aforementioned information. News media of the United States and other countries published large portions of the top secret information contained in the analytical report on the present condition of the Chinese armed forces. Comrade Deng Xiaoping should have learned a lesson from this experience and should no longer admire and love his so-called American friends. Yet, it appears that Vice Chairman Deng does not want to heed the warning from this serious mistake. When our representatives negotiated with the U.S. military technical delegation headed by Under Secretary of Defense Perry, Comrade Deng Xiaoping insisted that our military representatives reveal our secret military information to the U.S. representatives although Comrade Zhang Aiping and other leaders had repeatedly warned against supplying our military secrets to the United States. Deng wanted to show sincere friendship to the United States.

Facts show that Vice Chairman Deng's policy of firmly developing Sino-American military cooperation at all costs is quite wrong. Do we have to present our military secrets on a silver platter to the United States just for friendship? Leaking military secrets to foreigners not only impairs our sovereignty and insults the dignity of the Chinese nation but causes very serious damage to our armed forces.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'RADIO BA YI' COMMENTS ON TRIAL OF 10 PRINCIPAL ACCUSED

OW070430 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 6 Oct 80

[Text] The "gang of four" were arrested on 6 October 1976, thus dealing a telling blow to their feudal, fascist dictatorship. The whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country were elated and exultant. The people were full of hope. It was an unusual day in the history of our party.

Four years have elapsed since then, but many of the people's hopes have not been fulfilled. Following the death of Chairman Mao and the arrest of the "gang of four" according to law, there should have been a radical change in the life of the whole party, the entire army and people throughout the country. At that time, if the erroneous line had been immediately and completely cast aside and the correct line had been readopted, there should have been a basic turn for the better in the livelihood of the people and in the building of the party, the state and the army, and concrete achievements should have been made over the past 4 years.

It is too bad that such a change has not taken place. It can be said that much time has been wasted in many fields over the past 4 years, mainly because the pernicious influence of the erroneous line has not been eliminated. It is precisely because old ideas and the erroneous line have been clung to that policies and principles on how to solve the major problems facing the country have not yet been laid down. At the same time, the extremely acute problems left over from the past have not been thoroughly handled.

In handling problems left from the past, it is essential first to affirm Chairman Mao's mistakes and their nature and then, on this basis, to determine the mistakes of other leaders who implemented Chairman Mao's orders and instructions. This is probably the only feasible way of solving problems.

As everyone knows, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao, high-ranking general officers of our army have been

listed among the 10 principal accused, who will soon be tried by a special court as members of the notorious Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. Some people say that the special court will be able to officially determine what the accused should be held responsible for during the 10 catastrophic years and to pass fair judgment on them. The issue is that the above-mentioned general officers and other leaders of our army in the past consistently and faithfully carried out the orders and instructions of Mao Zedong, chairman of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee. As a soldier, one obeys orders as his bound duty. It is, therefore, entirely proper for them to have obeyed the orders and instructions of the chairman of the party Central Committee Military Commission and the supreme commander in chief of the country. However, they are now accused of committing grave crimes.

People may ask: Since those who carried out wrong orders are to be severely punished and the one who issued wrong orders and instructions is exceptionally absolved from his criminal responsibility, how can such a trial be said to be fair and just?

In view of the above situation, we demand: First, what Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao did as soldiers by absolutely obeying Chairman Mao's orders and instructions during that period is irreproachable, so they should be dealt with differently from the case of the principal accused of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. In trying and sentencing them, consideration should be given to the special characteristics of our army, the feudalist and patriarchal traditions of our party and army and the objective conditions prevailing at that time.

Second, the files of orders, instructions and documents issued by Chairman Mao himself or transmitted by Deputy Commander in Chief Lin should be attached to the file of the special case of Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao. These documents will undoubtedly help distinguish right from wrong so that these comrades can be impartially dealt with.

CSO: 4095

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

PUBLICATION OF HUA SPEECH--Beijing, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--Hua Guofeng's speech at the third session of the Fifth NPC has been published in a single edition by the People's Publishing House for sale in Beijing and other parts of the country beginning 21 September. All documents of the NPC session will also be compiled and published. These two books will be published in Mongolian, Tibetan, Uygur, Kazak and Korean languages by the Nationalities Publishing House. [OW261007 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1311 GMT 22 Sep 80 OW]

LIU SHAOQI SPEECH--Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Issue No 1, 1980, of the journal WEN XIAN [DOCUMENTS], edited and published by the Beijing Library, contains a "speech to the students of the first class of the Marxism-Leninism Institute" delivered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi on 14 December 1948. At that time Comrade Liu Shaoqi was the president of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, which was the precursor of the present senior party school of the CCP Central Committee. Along with this precious historical document, the journal publishes articles by Lin Hao, Fan Ruoyu and 10 others who previously studied in that class. The articles present their experience in studying Marxist-Leninist theory. They say that Comrade Liu Shaoqi's speech is still of importance today, as a guidance in carrying out the four modernizations. [OW030201 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0136 GMT 2 Oct 80]

GUIZHOU REPORT MEETING--The Guizhou Provincial Discipline Inspection Committee and provincial party committee held a report meeting on 13 September on studying the "guiding principles." The meeting introduced some advanced units and individuals who did well in implementing the "guiding principles." The meeting was presided over by member of the Standing Committee of the Guizhou provincial CCP and party committees secretary (Song Sugong), and deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee and secretary of the Guizhou Provincial Discipline Inspection Committee Chen Xinggeng spoke at the meeting. The meeting demanded that all party organizations grasp the following: 1) To popularize the "guiding principles" among the people and work in accordance with the "guiding principles"; 2) to study the "guiding principles" in connection with local conditions and mobilize the people's activism to promote the

four modernizations; 3) to make use of advanced models in educating the masses; and 4) to strengthen discipline inspection. [HK060714 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 13 Sep 80 HK]

HUBEI NEW WORK STYLE--The Yingshan County Revolutionary Committee in Hubei Province has implemented a new work style and overcome the phenomenon of replacing the government with the party. As a result, it solved many problems which required government solutions. In the past, the Yingshan County CCP Committee had to decide on all important and trivial matters. In order to overcome the phenomenon of replacing the government with the party and uphold the principle of collective leadership and division of labor, the Yingshan County Revolutionary Committee has established a collective office of chairmen of the county revolutionary committee. This collective office holds a meeting monthly to discuss great issues and designate subordinate organizations to implement the decisions. [Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Sep 80 HK]

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI RADIO COMMENTS ON PLA SPENDING REDUCTION, POSSIBLE PURGE

OW080136 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] The 13 percent reduction in military spending for 1980 has caused comment among military cadres. The primary views of the cadres of the Lanzhou PLA units, the Fuzhou PLA units, the naval air force and some military schools can be summarized as follows:

1. The reduction of military spending is designed to compensate for financial deficits caused by erroneous economic policies and by military actions against Vietnam.
2. The shift of stress in national construction has pushed defense construction down to third place in precedence. Therefore, military spending must be reduced.
3. In the past the "gang of four" and their backstage boss needed to increase military spending by a large amount when they spread such examples of war hysteria as "the Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating our country" and "world war is unavoidable" in order to divert attention from chaos and feudal fascist atrocities at home. Since our slogans have changed now, we no longer need such high military expenditures.
4. The reduction of military spending is just a tactic. China's military spending is never limited to a military budget as its only source. Some machine building ministries and scientific research units directly serve the armed forces.

Besides the aforesaid four general views, many cadres of the Beijing PLA units, the Guangzhou PLA units and the navy hold: One important reason for the reduction of military spending is to provide an excuse for conducting a third purge of PLA cadres. The appeal for further reducing personnel and for using manpower and finances primarily for improving and manufacturing new weapons is designed to create an opportunity for further striking at and discharging those cadres who had indirect relations with Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo.

Some naval cadres even openly said: Someone in the Central Committee hates the PLA because he suffered heavy blows when the PLA participated in supporting the leftists during the Cultural Revolution. Since being put in charge of the State Council for the first time in 1974, he has successively purged seven groups of military cadres. He recently resigned from his State Council post while retaining his power in the party Central Committee in order to personally supervise the purge of military cadres.

In short, the reduction of military spending has caused an anxious state of mind among military cadres. The propaganda materials issued by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee and the General Political Department are poor in content and full of empty words and high-sounding political slogans. They are not convincing at all. This shows that our political work and propaganda work lag behind the current situation. The political and cultural level and the analytical ability of the PLA commanders and fighters are quite different from 20 years or even a dozen years ago. The use of old working methods and false propaganda cannot solve the ideological question of commanders and fighters.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'JIEFANGJUN BAO' REPORTS GUANGDONG DEPARTMENT COMMENDED

OWO60248 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 5 Oct 80

[Text] According to a JIEFANGJUN BAO report, the cadres, fighters and staff members of the People's Armed Forces Department of Huidong County in Guangdong and their families have conscientiously adhered to the policies and regulations of the party and the government and have committed no law or discipline violations in the past 2 years. Because of this record, they have been commended by the Discipline Inspection Committee of the next higher organization.

Huidong County is situated near the South China Sea coast and adjoins Hong Kong. It is frequently visited by Overseas Chinese from Hong Kong and Macao, as well as by foreign guests in the past few years. Imported wristwatches, television sets, radio receiver-recorders and other high-grade commodities were often found on sale in the country and even in the area where the county People's Armed Forces Department is located.

To cope with this situation, the party committee of the department has constantly educated the cadres, fighters and staff members of the department and their families to carry forward our army's fine tradition of plain living and hard struggle and be models in adhering to government policies. The department party committee has announced explicit rules for them to follow.

The seven leaders of the county People's Armed Forces Department have conscientiously adhered to the policies and regulations of the party and the government. None of them has violated the law banning the purchase of television sets, radio receiver-recorders, wristwatches or other imported merchandise items. With their leaders as examples, the comrades of the county People's Armed Forces have conscientiously adhered to law and discipline.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

NAVY CADRE'S RESIGNATION REQUEST--Beijing, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--Recently Luo Rongjiang, 61-year-old deputy of the Fifth NPC, wrote a report to the PLA Navy party committee requesting that he be relieved of his post as deputy commandant of the Navy Submarine School and be replaced by a younger and more capable cadre. Luo Rongjiang called on veteran cadres to make room for talented younger cadres instead of picking on them and telling them they are unable to shoulder responsibilities. [OW240341 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1414 GMT 19 Sep 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NANFANG RIBAO' AIRS PLANNED PARENTHOOD PROBLEMS

HK060147 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2345 GMT
5 Oct 80

[Report on NANFANG RIBAO 6 October editorial: "There Should Be No Wavering in Ideology, No Reversals of Policy and No Relaxation in Work--Some Hopes Concerning the Province's Planned Parenthood Work"]

[Text] The editorial says: Guangdong has made progress in planned parenthood work this year and initially reversed the passive situation of continued rise in population growth in the previous 2 years. The birth rate is again tending to decline. However, it is estimated that the province's natural population growth rate this year will be about 14 per 1,000. Thus the province is still unable to meet the state target of reducing the figure to below 10 per 1,000. The percentage of couples having only one child is 12.7, far lower than the national average of 56. These figures prove that we must continue to make very great efforts in order to reduce the province's natural population growth rate to below 10 per 1,000 and control the province's population below 70 million before the end of the century.

The editorial says: In the light of the actual situation in the province, in carrying out planned parenthood work in future, we first hope that the leaders at all levels will continue to implement with unwavering ideology the planned parenthood targets set by the Central Committee and State Council. In particular, they must unwaveringly advocate that each couple should have only one child. At present, there are various reactions in society to the notion of having only one child. Some people hold that having only one child is too leftist a measure and the masses will not accept it. Others hold that it is the general trend of the times but does not conform to the common aspiration of the people, and so on and so forth. Unless these ideological problems are solved, they are bound to hinder the launching of planned parenthood work. We must help them to eliminate misunderstandings and worries, understand the situation, advance with firm step, unite as one and make common efforts to bring about a new situation in the province's planned parenthood work.

Secondly, we hope that the leaders at all levels will firmly carry out the existing principles, policies and regulations on planned parenthood. There should be no reversals of policy.

Next, we hope that the leaders at all levels will grasp this work still more tightly and avoid the slightest ideological tendency to relax.

At present, planned parenthood work is facing certain new situations and problems. For instance, some changes have occurred in the rural economic management system and some administrative and other units take full responsibility for their own expenditure, while the new marriage law has laid down new regulations with regard to the age of marriage, and so on and so forth. However, so long as we use our brains, we can devise specific measures and work methods suited to these new situations.

The editorial says in conclusion: The party and people sincerely hope that there will be no wavering in ideology, no reversals of policy and no relaxation in work in the province's planned parenthood work. So long as we can succeed in this, the province will be able to make still greater progress in planned parenthood work and make still greater contributions to building the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACTIVITIES NOTED AT BEIJING NATIONAL MINORITIES ART FESTIVAL

Minority Artists Perform

OW070712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, Oct 7 (XINHUA)--With more than 2,000 performers in Beijing for a festival of national minority art, theatre and culture experts in the capital are acquainting themselves with the artists and the cultural achievements of China's 55 national minorities.

The one-month festival, which is scheduled to close on October 20, is running simultaneous performances in four Beijing theatres each night.

The vice-president of the Chinese Dancers' Association, Jia Zuoguang, said today that the standard of performances by the singers, dancers and musicians "far exceeds" the presentations at the first national minority festival held in the early 1960's.

A teacher of dance for nearly 30 years, and an expert in minority dances, Jia Zuoguang commended the strongly "natural" flavor of the dances and songs now being presented in Beijing.

He marked particularly the vibrant performances of the Inner Mongolian "Wulanmuqi" (performers on horseback) who spend eight months a year among the herdsmen of their region; the ancient dances of the Zhuang people of south China who, with 12 million people, are the biggest of China's national minorities; the fishing dance of the Hezhe people of northeast China, only 800 strong and the smallest minority; and the music and dances of the Uygur people of northwest China and China's Korean community.

Jia Zuoguang also noted a highly developed artistry among the musicians of the Jinuo people who live in the bamboo groves of southwest China. The Jinuos are the latest to be officially recognized as a distinct nationality. Their music group performed on instruments all made of bamboo.

First Hui Opera Presented

OW070802 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 7 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, Oct 7 (XINHUA)--The first Hui opera was staged in Beijing this week to represent the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region at the national minorities art festival.

"Mansur," based on a centuries-old legend of the Hui people, is about Mansur the brave shepherd who overcomes all dangers and tests to win the hand of a princess whom he has saved.

Twenty-eight Hui singers and dancers appeared in this opera developed from "Hua Er (Flower)," a form of folk singing popular among the Hui people which has a strict tonal pattern and rhyme patterns, and is rich in metaphor.

Gudratullah Ma Tengai, vice president of the China Islamic Association, who is a senior imam, acted as adviser to the opera.

Critics here acclaimed the presentation as "a remarkable advance in Hui musical art."

The opera was authored by 35-year-old Zhang Zongcan, a Beijing student who went to Ningxia at 20 in 1965 and has collected and studied the folk music of the local people.

Singing the role of the princess is 23-year-old Wang Cunqin of Hui nationality who started her career as an amateur and later joined a local art troupe.

When "Mansur" was given its premiere in Ningxia, it was warmly received by the Hui audience as "our own opera."

At a discussion to invite opinions in Yinchuan, capital of the autonomous region, "Mansur" won the approval of local Islamic leaders. "It doesn't jar with our religion," an imam said. "It's good that the life of the Hui nationality be presented in art and be introduced to the whole country. We approve of it," another imam said.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

ENCYCLOPEDIA PUBLICATION PLANS--Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--The first of the 80 volumes that will make up the "China Greater Encyclopedia"--a 10-year project undertaken by several publishing houses--will be printed by the end of this year, the publishers said today. The first volume, on astronomy, deals with the latest discoveries as well as China's long history of research in this field. More than 200 astronomers worked on the book for over 2 years. Volumes on archeology, law, history, literature, philosophy, religion, economics, military science, mathematics and geography are now being prepared. The complete encyclopedia will have 100,000 entries. [Text] [OW290251 Beijing XINHUA in English 0145 GMT 29 Sep 80 OW]

CHINA YEARBOOK--Beijing, 27 Sep (XINHUA)--"The 1980 Yearbook of the Greater Encyclopedia of China," China's first will be put on sale soon. The book covers international politics, military affairs, diplomacy, economics, science and technology, philosophy, literature and art, education, medicine and social life. It gives an account of the major events in China before May 1980. The 740-page book comes in a de luxe and a paperback edition and has 433 color and black-and-white pictures. Among the contributors to the book which has 1,700 entries are more than 800 specialists, scholars and public figures. The yearbook was edited and published by the Shanghai branch of the Greater Encyclopedia of China Publishing House. A new yearbook will be published each year in the future. [Text] [OW281653 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 27 Sep 80 OW]

CONTRACEPTIVES SUPPLY--Beijing, 18 Sep (XINHUA)--China now produces 30 kinds of medicine and 14 kinds of appliances for contraceptive purposes and supplies them free of charge, according to today's "Health News." China started to supply contraceptives free of charge in 1974 to promote family planning. Over 50 factories scattered all over the country produce oral, injection and external use medicines or appliances. Intrauterine rings, which are welcomed in the rural areas, are produced by most of these factories. [Text] [OW201135 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 18 Sep 80 OW]

ANCIENT MINORITY LANGUAGES EXHIBIT--Beijing, 1 Oct (XINHUA)--An exhibition of ancient written languages of China's national minorities, the first of its kind since the founding of new China, opens to the public here today in the Nationalities Palace of Culture. On display are 16 ancient written languages, showing when and where they were used. The exhibits include orders by kings, sutras written on tree leaves, tablet inscriptions, hand scrolls, memorials to the throne, inscribed wooden and bamboo slips, official seals, ancient coins and mirrors, xylographic books and typed books. The ancient minority languages include: Tujue (Turk), Huigu (Uigour), ancient Tibetan, ancient Mongolian, and Man (Manchu). The exhibition is jointly sponsored by the Nationalities Palace of Culture, the Cultural Department under the State Nationalities Affairs Commission and the China National Ancient Written Languages Research Society. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0149 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

'BEIJING RIBAO' SUBURBAN EDITION--Beijing, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--The Beijing daily paper BEIJING DAILY [BEIJING RIBAO] launched a suburban edition today to cater for rural readers on the outskirts of the Chinese capital. A successor to the BEIJING PEASANT PAPER published before the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), the 4-page paper said in its first editorial that it will publicize Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and scientific and cultural knowledge. It said it also aims to give a voice to the suburban people. The suburban paper will be published every Tuesday and Friday. [Text] [OW051255 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 3 Oct 80 OW]

HISTORICAL ATLAS--Beijing, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--An atlas of the general history of China is to be published here shortly by the Cartographic Publishing House. It is the first such atlas since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. The atlas, a companion volume to the "General History of China" compiled by the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, covers several thousand years from primitive society to the Opium War of 1840. It bears an inscription by the late historian Guo Moruo, who oversaw the production of the "General History of China." Presented in two volumes, the atlas contains 113 maps, including the sites of primitive societies, political and administrative changes under various dynasties, distribution and migrations of Chinese nationalities, and ancient wars. Maps showing contacts with foreign countries in ancient times are also included. The atlas is compiled by the Institute of History, Fudan University, the People's Publishing House and the Cartographic Publishing House under the supervision of Yin Da, deputy director of the Institute of History. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0733 GMT 21 Sep 80 OW]

MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHERS--Lhasa, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--More than 500 middle school teachers from different parts of China have come to Tibet, the "roof of the world," and have already started working in the local schools. This is a further step to speed up the development of education in this region. The teachers came from the provinces of Sichuan,

Jiangsu, Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Shandong, Liaoning and the municipality of Shanghai, in accordance with a directive of the State Council. These provinces and Shanghai had dispatched three groups of middle school teachers with a total of 1,100 to Tibet in the past. The teachers formed the mainstay of the teaching staff in the local schools. This year, 45 teachers from Hunan Province entered the Ngari area (Nat) an altitude of 4,500 meters above sea level in northwestern Tibet where teachers from inland have never reached before. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 21 Sep 80 OW]

POSTGRADUATE STUDENT ENROLLMENT--Beijing, 26 Sep (XINHUA)--This year's postgraduate enrollment in China is 3,600. More than 90 percent are in 237 universities and colleges. The rest are in various research institutes under the Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences and research institutes attached to government ministries or under provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Some new specialties have been set up this year in order to meet the needs of the country's four modernizations. The Institute of Technological Economics under the Academy of Social Sciences has set up new specialties in the economics of energy and the world economy. Postgraduate training was resumed in China in 1978 after a lapse of 12 years. China altogether enrolled 19,000 postgraduate students in 1978 and 1979. The postgraduates normally take 3-year courses. The drop in the number of postgraduates this year was due to the dwindling number of college graduates and lowering of college standards during the "Cultural Revolution." [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 26 Sep 80 OW]

ANCIENT CHINESE SCHOLARS FORUMS--Beijing, 26 Sep (XINHUA)--Forums on two ancient Chinese scholars--Su Dongpo and Pu Songling--were held recently in their native counties. Su Dongpo, also called Su Shi, was one of eight noted scholars of the Tang and Song dynasties. He was a prolific writer of essays and poems, and accomplished in calligraphy, painting and music. More than 80 people from all parts of China met in Meishan County, Sichuan Province in mid September to discuss Su Dongpo's literary thinking and contributions to aesthetics and music. They also set up a society to study his works. A Qing dynasty writer, Pu Songling is known for his "Liao Zhai Zhi Yi" (Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio). It has been translated into 13 languages in the past 200 years. Some 70 people attended the forum on Pu Songling, held in Zibo County, Shandong Province also in mid September. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 26 Sep 80 OW]

ACADEMY MATRICULATION--Beijing, 25 Sep (XINHUA)--The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and its branches and institutes in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions recently matriculated two research fellows, 39 associate research fellows, and 519 assistant researchers and research trainees through stringent examinations, examination of papers and interviews. Most of the matriculated research personnel, who were chosen from more than 4,300 candidates throughout the country,

are middle-aged and young people. Among them 7.9 percent are students returned from abroad and graduate school students, over 84 percent are college graduates or college students, and some are self-made high school students. Many of the matriculated have already had their books and academic papers published. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0818 GMT 25 Sep 80 OW]

LITERARY PERIODICAL--Beijing, 26 Sep (XINHUA)--A new literary monthly called XIAOSHUO XUANKAN (MAGAZINE OF SELECTED FICTION) has been recently published in Beijing. The new periodical is edited by the editorial department of RENMIN WENXUE (PEOPLE'S LITERATURE). The initial issue contains a preface written by Mao Dun. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0115 GMT 26 Sep 80 OW]

MINORITY LIBRARY--Beijing, 27 Sep (XINHUA)--The Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities was recently opened to the public. Established in 1959, the library has a floor space of 2,485 square meters and a collection of 380,000 volumes. The books include those written in various minority and foreign languages. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1211 GMT 27 Sep 80 OW]

SOONG CHING LING INSCRIPTION--Starting in its October issue, CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, a journal of the China Welfare Institute headed by Soong Ching Ling, will publish its new Chinese-language edition. Founded in 1952, the monthly is now available in English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Arabic editions in 140 countries. The first issue of the Chinese-language edition, which will be published in unsimplified Chinese characters to suit the reading habits of readers residing abroad and in Taiwan, will carry the inscription of Soong Ching Ling, who underscores Overseas Chinese concern and support for the motherland's modernization program and reunification and hopes the new Chinese-language edition will promote understanding and an interflow of affection between the people on the mainland on the one hand and Overseas Chinese and compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao on the other hand, so that they may coordinate their efforts to build a prosperous, powerful and unified motherland. [Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 0400 GMT 18 Sep 80 OW]

BEIJING HISTORY STUDY--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--The first academic discussion meeting on Beijing's history, which was also a meeting for the formation of the Society for the Study of Beijing's History, concluded on 29 September after 3 days in session. The meeting was attended by more than 120 professional and amateur scholars of Beijing's history. It adopted a proposal calling for vigorously carrying out the work of studying and publishing Beijing's history. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1420 GMT 30 Sep 80 OW]

BEIJING PUBLISHING HOUSE--Beijing, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--The Current Affairs Publishing House, a newly established publishing house in Beijing, has systematically begun publishing books concerning the international situation and the political, economic, military, cultural, educational, historical and geographical situation in various countries of the world as well as in China's Taiwan Province. Among books soon to be published are "The Shedding of Pak Chong-hui's Blood at Kungjong-tong--an Actual Account of South Korea's Chaotic Political Situation," "Selected Patriotic and Nostalgic Poems of Taiwan," "Our Motherland's Taiwan" and others. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0119 GMT 3 Oct 80 OW]

BEIJING PHILOSOPHY SYMPOSIUM--Beijing, 22 Sep (XINHUA)--A symposium on the history of philosophy was held on 18 and 19 September in Beijing under the sponsorship of ZHONGGUO ZHAXIE (CHINESE PHILOSOPHY), WAIGUO ZHAXIE (FOREIGN PHILOSOPHY) and the editorial department of the "Philosophy" supplement of GUANGMING RIBAO. Attending the symposium were mostly graduate students majoring in philosophy history from various institutions of higher learning, including Beijing University, the graduate school of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Chinese People's University, Shandong University, Wuhan University, Zhongshan University and Xian Teachers University. They called for further efforts to study the history of philosophy, saying that creative study in this regard should be encouraged. According to opinions expressed at the symposium, although the study of philosophy history should be guided by Marxism, it should be based on the objective facts in the history of philosophy. Also, Chinese philosophical history, because of its peculiar social background, cannot be mechanically explained by the struggle between materialism and idealism. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1135 GMT 22 Sep 80 OW]

GUANGZHOU EDUCATION WORK CONFERENCE--From 12 to 16 September, the Guangzhou municipal CCP and revolutionary committees held an education work conference to look into the problems of reforming the educational structure of the middle schools, adult education and popularization of primary education. The conference resolved to improve the backwardness of education and to strive to greatly develop the municipality's education cause in the 1980's. Ou Chu and Luo Peiyuan, leading comrades of the municipal CCP and revolutionary committees, attended. Luo Peiyuan also gave a report at the conference, calling on the municipality to actively reform, readjust and develop the education cause and train more qualified people for the four modernizations. He said that of the 81 middle schools in the urban areas of the municipality, 31 should remain as complete middle schools, 20 should be changed to junior middle schools and the other 30 should be gradually changed to middle vocational schools and technical schools or to middle schools with vocational courses. He also said that in 1981, the municipality will run 57 vocational courses and enroll 2,800 students. In 1981, every county and suburban area will run 2 to 4 agriculture, forestry and fishery schools. The municipal CCP

committee has decided to set up a secondary education leadership group. Ou Chu, municipal CCP committee secretary, also spoke on 16 September. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 17 Sep 80 HK]

JIANGSU PLANNED PARENTHOOD--On 4 October the Jiangsu Provincial CCP Committee held a telephone conference, urging all party organizations to vigorously publicize and implement the guidelines contained in the letter from the CCP Central Committee [to] CCP and CYL members on population control. Attending the conference were responsible comrades from all prefectures, municipalities, counties and provincial-level departments concerned. Wang Haisu, member of the provincial CCP committee Standing Committee, addressed the conference. He said that the province's birth-rate has steadily declined. From 1970 to 1979, there were 5 million fewer newborn babies than originally expected. As of the end of June 75 percent of the province's 1.6 million couples with one child promised not to have a second child. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 4 Oct 80 OW]

NEI MONGGOL RELIGIOUS FORUM--Forums of representatives of Buddhism, Taoism and Lamaism have been held recently in Hohhot Municipality, Nei Monggol Autonomous Region. Personages from religious circles discussed matters concerning religious activities and the resumption of boards of management of Buddhism, Taoism and Lamaism. Forum participants vowed that they would assist the party and government in implementing the party's policy on religion, carry out rational religious activities and contribute to the four modernizations. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Oct 80 SK]

SHANGHAI MODERN DRAMA--Shanghai, 1 Oct (XINHUA)--A new modern drama, "Welcome You Back," is being shown in Shanghai. The drama depicts the return of former Kuomintang acting president Li Zongren to the motherland in 1965. In the drama's last scene, a huge picture showing Premier Zhou shaking hands with Li Zongren is projected in the background and the following remark of Premier Zhou is heard: "There have been two instances of cooperation in the history of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. Why can't there be a third cooperation?" The drama is being staged by the Shanghai youth modern drama troupe. [OWO20139 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0111 GMT 1 Oct 80 OW]

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